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11 March 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2117

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11 March 1983

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST TRADE UNIONISM STRESSED

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 25 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Viliam Kozik, secretary of the URO [Central Trade Union Council]: "Internationalism and International Activity of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement]" ]

[Text] The significance of proletariat internationalism and the consistent fulfillment of international obligations are of extreme importance at the present time when the international political situation continues to deteriorate because of the most reactionary circles of imperialism.

While the countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union have expended enormous efforts to maintain peace in the world, the United States and member nations of NATO are constantly developing and improving nuclear weapons capable of greater mass destruction. Budgets for military expenditures are growing tremendously. The latest NATO program calls for increasing the military budget to \$320 billion.

As was stated at the Paris trade union conference on socioeconomic aspects of disarmament in 1981, more than \$1 million a minute is spent for military expenses in the world today. And all this is taking place at a time when the militarization of the economy in developed capitalist countries is helping deepen the crisis of serious inflation and high unemployment. This affects 30 million persons, of whom over half are young people. On our planet 800 million people suffer from hunger and malnutrition, 15 million children up to 5 years of age die every year in the developing countries and 1.5 billion people do not know what medical care is.

That is why the consistent Leninist peace policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community has an ever greater response in the world.

The world movement has an important task and responsibility in the struggle to preserve peace. Trade unions, as the largest mass organizations of workers representing large groupings of working people who want to create and not destroy, are vitally interested in the struggle for peace. Consequently, the 10th World Trade Union Congress unanimously proclaimed that the most important tasks of trade unions today are the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe, consolidating peace and the social and economic interests and rights of workers, the struggle against unemployment and inflation, for democratic rights and freedom and

national independence. This was fully confirmed also by the mass participation and actions of workers of the whole world on the occasion of 1 September, a day that was designated by the 10th World Trade Union Congress as Day of Trade Unions in the Struggle for Peace.

The 10th World Trade Union Congress, congresses of fraternal trade union organizations of socialist countries, as well as congresses of trade unions in many capitalist countries emphasized that in order to safeguard the basic rights of every person, that is, the right to life and work under peaceful conditions, it is necessary to further strengthen uniformity of action by the working classes of the whole world and to strive for joint coordinated action.

The ROH is conducting all its actions in accordance with the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism and these have also been projected in its international relations.

#### Active Participation

The 10th All-Union Congress confirmed that the Czechoslovak trade unions are a firm component of the trade union movement of countries of the socialist community and of the progressive international trade union movement and that as members of the WFTU they consistently fulfill their obligations in this international class trade union organization. It emphasized that, "For us, trade unionists, there is no more important task at the present time than defending the cause of peace." Czechoslovak trade unions are actively participating in many international trade union actions. They are the initiators of many such actions which through joint efforts strive to contribute to the preservation of peace. The ROH took part in the deliberations, resolutions and roundtable discussions of trade unions at the assembly of peace forms in Sofia in 1980. It plays a substantial part in the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament which was set up to implement the Declaration of the Paris Conference on socioeconomic aspects of disarmament in 1981. It is actively taking part in preparations of the World Assembly for Life and Peace and against Nuclear War which will take place in Prague in June 1983. The ROH asserts its class and international position at all bilateral and multilateral discussions and seeks points of contact with all who are really concerned about the interests of workers.

#### Cooperation with Fraternal Trade Unions

The ROH currently maintains differentiated relations with more than 130 organizations from 120 countries all over the world. The basis of our multilateral international activity is close cooperation and collaboration with trade unions of the fraternal socialist countries with which we are united by long tradition, common interests and goals in building a socialist and communist society and strengthening relations with other member organizations of the WFTU with which we share a common class and international base and similar approaches toward resolving the problems of workers.

Top priority of the ROH was and is the further expansion of mutual relations and cooperation with trade unions of the Soviet Union whose activities exemplify to us Lenin's concept of the work of trade unions in building a socialist society.

Relations are successfully developing on the basis of an agreement on cooperation between the URO and the VCSPS [Soviet All-Union Trade Union Council]. These are taking place not only along the general trade union line between headquarters, the KOR [Kraj Trade Union Council], the OOR [District Trade Union Council] but also along other union lines and, what is particularly important, also with the basic organizations of the ROH where lately they are expanding and further consolidating. The use of Soviet progressive methods is very important for our worker collectives, brigades of socialist labor and comprehensive efficiency brigades. For example, the Zlobin method is used by 3,932 collectives in all branches of our national economy, the Basov method of accident-free work is used by almost 98,000 collectives which involve 1.4 million members, the Saratov and Lvov movements involve 585,000 members, etc. Cooperation with Soviet trade unions is oriented not only toward the problem complex of production and the economy but is developing in all areas of trade union activity. In the last 10 years, over 1,000 of our trade union officials took part in courses organized by the VCSPS in Saltykov-Moscow and mutual cooperation is successfully developing between worker collectives with the exchange of production experience.

Fraternal cooperation with trade unions of the other socialist countries is developing successfully and dynamically. Special attention on the basis of agreements on cooperation is given to coordination plans which give positive form to trade union activity in the mass politica, ideological training and political organizational area, in matters of workers' social and living conditions and in questions of labor safety and social security. Great attention is given to the unions' share in carrying out tasks which for the individual socialist countries issue from execution of the comprehensive CEMA program.

#### International Division of Labor

The socialist economy, based on common ownership of productive facilities and planned development of the national economy, represents a high degree of development of productive forces and scientific technical advances which create conditions favorable to the continuous intensification of the international division of labor, specialization and cooperation among individual member nations of CEMA and thereby also the achievement of higher efficiency in the individual socialist countries as well as in the socialist community as a whole.

Only thus can the legacy materialize that capitalism will be defeated only when the socialist economy achieves greater labor productivity, when it is more efficient and thereby also stronger than the capitalist economy. While the economic situation in capitalist countries is stagnating as a result of the crisis, overall industrial production in the CEMA member nations increased 12-fold during the period 1951-1978. The national income increased by two-thirds in the period 1971-1980 and the volume of industrial production by over 80 percent. In 1980, CEMA member nations were responsible for one-half of the increased volume of the world's industrial production, 22 percent of the world's production of electricity and 41 percent of the world's coal production.

Very important to the expansion and further development of production cooperation and collaboration are international competitions of workers. This is one of the new, qualitatively higher methods of implementing fraternal cooperation. In this way, workers in socialist countries clearly and specifically realize not only their affinity to the world socialist system but also their obligation to carry out their assigned tasks and thereby also their share in the historic struggle between the forces of peace and war, capitalist and socialism. In 1982, 500 badges for best workers and collectives were awarded in the USSR and 500 collectives and workers were decorated in the CSSR.

Compared with the difficult situation in capitalist countries, the advantages of true socialism are becoming more evident, the working and living conditions of workers and the position and aims of their trade unions in the whole socialist social system. The laboring class as the ruling class in society is consistently applying in all directions the principles of proletariat internationalism and providing political, moral and material assistance to our class brothers wherever it is needed.

#### Relations with Trade Unions in Capitalist Countries

In all its relations with trade unions of capitalist countries the ROH proceeds from a position of international labor and trade union solidarity. This cooperation is directed toward the formation of conditions favorable to joint procedures and uniformity of action in matters pertaining to the vital interests of all workers and offering solidarity in their class struggles.

Special attention is given to relations with trade unions in the European capitalist countries. Europe is the center of attention of the whole world. Achieving uniformity of action by trade unions in the struggle for peace is extremely important precisely at the present time when, according to a decision of NATO, 600 medium-range nuclear missiles are to be deployed on the territories of the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Holland and Belgium. This increases the danger of nuclear war. It again confirms the efforts of the United States to transform Europe into a hell of atomic warfare. Consequently, the voices of trade unionists, whether they live in the East or in the West, must be heard in full force against this real danger.

The ROH assigns great importance in its international activities to developing relations with progressive trade union organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Purposeful intensification and expansion of these relations are also an expression of the consistent implementation of the principles of proletariat internationalism. The 10th All-Union Congress underlined the necessity of continuing to provide ever more effective mutual assistance and supporting our class brothers in their struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and for full political, national and economic independence.

#### The International Solidarity Fund

One of the ways by which workers and members of the ROH express their mutual concern and assistance is the purchase of solidarity stamps. This is an important integral part of the socialist education of workers, a class and

international approach, which helps reinforce among workers an awareness of revolutionary labor solidarity. Between the two congresses over Kcs 90 million was provided from the Solidarity Fund.

In 1982, almost Kcs 16 million was expended from the International Solidarity Fund. A considerable amount--over Kcs 1.2 million--went for educating trade union cadres of the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, Guinea, Bissau, Ethiopia and the Congo People's Republic. The ROH held seminars in the CSSR for more than 125 trade unionists of English-speaking and French-speaking Africa, Latin America, the Arab countries and Nigeria. More than Kcs 2.3 million has been spent for support of trade unions in Arab countries, Asia, African and Latin America. Of this, over 1 million was in connection with Israeli aggression against the national and patriotic forces of Palestine and Lebanon. Considerable financial assistance is given to trade unionists of the whole world for medical care. In 1982, more than 90 children from families of unemployed trade unionists from Greece, Italy, France, Portugal and Cyprus spent pleasant vacations in our pioneer camps. Our help can only be such as is offered by the resources of the International Solidarity Fund. This is also why the All-Union Congress emphasized the need to heighten awareness of revolutionary worker solidarity in our trade union members through ROH Solidarity stamps.

Strengthening the bonds of labor solidarity and class affinity with the international trade union movement as was emphasized at the 10th All-Union Congress continues to be the foremost goal of Czechoslovak trade unions as an inseparable component of international, revolutionary, progressive, democratic forces and the trade union movement.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CUBANS FORM BRIGADES TO PROMOTE RELATIONS

AU221604 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Feb 83 p 2

["(El)"-signed report: "Cuban Brigades of Socialist Cooperation"]

[Text] Bratislava--On the basis of a decision adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, socialist cooperation brigades are currently being set up in the working collectives of Cubans working in the CSSR. The brigades' task will be to orient the members' ideopolitical activities, to consolidate their discipline and to enhance their working performance; further tasks have been determined for the brigades in the sphere of education, culture, sports and recreation. One of the main goals of these brigades is to develop relations between the republic of Cuba and the CSSR. The first socialist cooperation brigade in the CSSR was established yesterday at the International Women's Day Plant in Bratislava in the presence of Guillermo Arrastia Fundora, consul general of the Republic of Cuba in Bratislava. The collective of young Cuban workers should become the pioneer of this new form of movement for higher performance and for the development of socialist internationalism in practice.

CSO: 2400/159

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PUNK ROCK, OTHER BAD INFLUENCES ON WORKERS YOUTH

AU231041 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Feb 83 pp 1, 4

["Excerpt" from a report by Ludovit Pezlar, presidium member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, delivered at the third "Theoretical-Practical" Conference sponsored by the Slovak Trade Union Council in cooperation with the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union and the Slovak Academy of Sciences, held in Kosice on 3-4 February 1983, headlined "The Education of the Generation of Young Workers"]

[Excerpt] Not so long ago a survey was carried out among secondary school students throughout Slovakia, including student apprentices of the highest classes of the secondary vocational schools, on their notions about and attitudes toward some weltanschauung and moral issues. It emerged that the majority of the workers youth is ridding itself of the influences of religious education: They regard the world as material [hmotny]; they are convinced that the development of natural, life and social phenomena is taking place in harmony with objective laws which man can discover with the help of science and that he can actively influence the world within the framework of their validity and even transform it to suit his objectives.

However, despite these positive ascertainments we cannot be satisfied with the results of the youth's weltanschauung education. A part of the content of the weltanschauung of every individual also is a certain constellation of political, moral, esthetic and other values which people recognize, which they adopt and by which they abide. Socialist awareness and a firm conviction can come into being only when a person's constellation of the aforementioned values is in harmony with the philosophical, scientific and materialistic weltanschauung. And precisely in this sphere--in ideopolitical, esthetic and moral education--we have many shortcomings. In this sphere a certain carelessness prevails; phenomena of neutralism, indifference, compromise, positivism and pragmatism exist here.

The activity of some fanatical religious sects, funded by capitalists abroad, concentrates on the workers milieu. Vestiges of the defeated antisocialist forces in our country are trying to win young workers for the punk rock movement, whose aim is to detach young people from topical questions of the current domestic and international life by decadent entertainment and parasitic ways of life. Characteristic of this movement is the use of fascist symbols and the propagation of disrespect for fundamental human and social values.

In the work with youth, too, when our ideoeducational work begins to flag, our ideological and class enemy begins to activate himself.

It is no secret that in our society there still exist shortcomings such as corruption, parasitism, thefts of property in socialist ownership, careerism and other phenomena alien to socialism. In no case must we permit demoralized persons, who are the carriers of these abuses, to have the opportunity to exert a pernicious influence on the coming workers generation. Young people must see that the management of enterprises, the party and trade union organization, the people in charge of production departments and officials are resolutely combating these alien phenomena. In any place in which words are at variance with deeds, the process of educational influence on youth is being weakened.

CSO: 2400/159

'NEPSZAVA' INTERVIEWS POLISH LEADERS ON SITUATION

AU260952 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 Jan 83 p 6

[Peter Barabas article: "World Politics; Path Seeking and Recovery; Polish Clergymen, Polish Communists"]

[Text] Polish radio has broadcast an astounding tape recording on a discussion of Solidarity leaders operating illegally. TRYBUNA LUDU also has published the document amounting to more than 400 typed lines. A detail from the discussions:

"...What does illegality mean, in any case? How large is its effective range, how many people does it encompass?

"Let us look at the first issue. There were several hundred people in our position, but those who have made themselves known must be subtracted from this figure, because those who have made themselves known have not, fundamentally, done anything in this underground movement, but have only hidden themselves. That is, those 250 persons who have made themselves known according to statistics must be subtracted. And then there remain.... I do not even know how many. If there are 20 persons, at the most, now operating in illegality in the Gdansk region and if we multiply this, say, by 10 centers, the result is 200 persons. I guess the number is probably under 200, because there are considerably fewer people in illegality in Krakow, for instance."

The lack of prospects and confusion of the opposition that has been obliged to go underground and its increasing realization that it is unable significantly to influence the development of the situation in Poland clearly emerge from this discussion. Those who are seeking new means for influencing public opinion and political life under conditions of attempting to come to terms with authority have greater chance for that.

It is Necessary to Arrive at an Understanding With the Church

Not one of our discussion partners rated the church among the enemies of socialist society in Poland. However, they also remember that the church stood behind Solidarity and tried to profit the most from the weakening of the positions of the government and the party throughout. It would like to

salvage now what can be salvaged. Therefore, if need be, it retreats, is prepared to moderate its demands and even relinquishes positions in the short term if this makes it hopeful of successes in the long run. For instance, it takes steps in the interest of consolidation and reconciliation in hope of a visit by the Pope. The Pope's visit would then present the bill for it.

There is room for many things in its new tactics, including a reception with color pictures of Walesa at Czestochowa Monastery and clergymen employing the excommunicating style of anticomunism on some occasions and speaking like most liberal party secretaries on others.

The potentialities of the church at the moment seem to be the most significant among the humanist intelligentsia. With a single sentence, Archbishop Glemp, head of the Catholic Church, has induced actors boycotting television to reappraise their attitude.

As Franciszek Dabrowski, ideological secretary of the Krakow Party Committee, has said, the intelligentsia is much slower to come to its senses than the workers. Many of them are wandering around in the clouds and fleeing from the reality and would abandon their introversion in a few areas if there were someone instead of them to take the first step.

In this situation, the church undoubtedly has room to maneuver.

The politicians realize the church's strength and potentialities. Most Poles are believers and, therefore, they listen to the voice of the church even if they dislike the political platform of clergymen. However, if that is the case, then authority must arrive at an understanding with the church as well and cannot forego either influencing it or obtaining its support.

It is a view worth pondering over: The administration is closer to accepting the role of the Polish church in socialism than is the church, which does not genuinely accept socialism even despite its acknowledgment of the geopolitical situation. Realizing its increasing strength, it seeks a share of the power once more.

However, the administration does not permit the church to obtain, while relying on the belief of people, a political role that is not its due.

The church cannot be a political force," says Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, chairman of the catholic organization PAX, at a meeting with Hungarian journalists. "In PAX's opinion, the Polish Church must dissociate itself from antisocialist forces."

PAX has done this when it replaced the leadership closely interwoven with Solidarity.

"We have one fatherland, which we must build and not ruin through destructive activity."

For the time being, the church is participating in the great task of construction by not mobilizing against it. However, the burden of the job is being borne by the leaders who--as they say--work in the open, travel around the country and try to draw as many people as possible into preparing and implementing their decisions. As Jaruzelski warned also on the latest occasion, self-complacency and arrogance must be alien to this style.

#### The General Remains at His Post

Our meeting with Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, member of the Military Council for National Salvation [NRON] and minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection, provided the answer to why the soldiers have remained at their posts following the suspension of martial law.

Hupalowski, who was deputy to the chief of the General Staff since 1972 and spent his entire life in the Army, became a minister not because he was a general but because he has proven himself to be an outstanding organizer in the Army. He now manages a considerable part of state assets, ranging from urban transportation to water supplies. Hundreds of thousands of people came under his ministry's competence.

When he assumed the direction of the portfolio, half the buses were unoperational and he was overwhelmed by millions of problems, from energy troubles to unheated dwellings.

In addition to putting urban transportation in order and ensuring the fuel needed for heating and a normal operation of public administration, one could enumerate a long list of what has been accomplished in a single year of the state of emergency under Hupalowski's direction.

"Will you remain at your post despite the suspension of martial law?"

This is a formal question. Normalization requires people who can and want to act.

#### The Party Is Recovering

"In what state is the party, however?"

The question was posed in many places last year, because, along with an acknowledged activeness of a few leading politicians and soldiers, the party seemed to have remained a passive onlooker.

It is weighed down not only by the burden of the mistakes committed in the past, but also by the still operative demagogic of Solidarity. Solidarity had some 1 million communist members, and not all of that million have shaken off the belief that power is always the source of all problems.

"Regaining the party's leading role is a protracted process," said [Deputy Premier] Mieczyslaw Rakowski. "We left the party in the shade at the beginning of martial law. We wanted to link the party as little as possible to the

"showing of strength. The situation is entirely different today. The party is regaining its self-confidence. Those who were previously silent are becoming active again. However, this is a process that takes several years...."

Gen Hupalowski speaks of the communists whose personal work has remained unnoticed by the broad public. To be sure, the communists have done a great deal in the Army last year as well. The fact that there was not a single case of refusal to carry out orders, of abuse and fraud would have been inconceivable without political educational work.

"The party has been successfully preserved despite the losses, disruptive forces and petit bourgeois and bourgeois ideological pressure," says Jan Glowczyk, candidate Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

They realize well, however, that the party has become weaker. It has been weakened by external enemies, but it has been weakened also by internal disputes, extremist views and leftist and rightist factions. They were able to express their views both in word and writing during the state of emergency. The time now is regarded as ripe for restoring order in this respect. They do not tolerate faction-mongering and acts of responsible party people organized from outside any longer. This is not aimed at discontinuing an exchange of views within the party, but at preventing the creation of ideological confusion. Without party unity, there can be no cohesion in society, either.

"For a long time, we did not have the ability to be offensive," says Glowczyk. "For months, we had only defended ourselves. For a while now, we have been dictating the course of events."

And, since the course of events is not being dictated from underground by Solidarity, nor any longer by the church from the pulpit, the optimism of those concerned over socialism in Poland is better founded than it was a year ago.

I have met with many communists and few clergymen in Poland. Most communists were tired and worn out and their voices were ponderous, resembling the voice of those who bear the burden of the whole country on their shoulders. Clergymen, whom I saw only at the pulpit and in the dimness of churches, radiated the self-assurance of people whose mission might as well end with a sermon. They could do more than a little for reconciliation. However, it is not they who will set up the building blocks of social development.

CSO: 2500/147

POLAND

RELIGION MINISTER DISCUSSES STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian 23 Dec 82 pp 1, 28

[Interview with Adam Loptka, Polish minister of religious affairs, by G F Svidercoschi: "The Polish Government Again Seeks a 'Compromise' with the Catholic Church"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 December--"Next year," said Adam Loptka, Polish minister of religious affairs, "will mark the third centenary of the victory won by the Polish cavalry, led by Sobieski, against the Turks under the walls of Vienna. It was a pope who solicited their intervention, and the government in office at the time granted his plea. Thus, we can say that this recollection is a motive that could somehow be related to the second visit to Poland planned by John Paul II. Even though our generals today do not brandish sabers...."

[Question] But Honorable Minister, doesn't your analogy strike you as a bit too strong? Could it infer that, by coming to Poland, the Pope is demonstrating his approval of repression?

[Answer] Surely you must have noticed that in the trips he takes, the Pope never feels any constraint about visiting countries where repression continues to be the principal characteristic of their governments. Here in Poland repression has been imposed on a very reduced scale and in ways intended to safeguard not only the interests of the nation but also the interests of those who are being repressed.

[Question] Then why couldn't the Pope come here last August?

[Answer] I can only smile at your question. Yes, I have read somewhere that the Pope did not come then because the Polish Government apparently did not give him its permission.

[Question] But 4 months ago, you had not yet given him your permission.

[Answer] Who told you that?

[Question] The permanent Episcopate Council on 8 August in a communication which stated that "The authorities have not given their permission."

[Answer] The Pope did not come to Poland simply because we were not prepared to receive him. He is always welcome in this country, but we felt that conditions were not as good as they should have been to give him a worthy reception.

Thus, my conversation with the chief of the Ministry of Religion continued on this note. Installed in office last May, Adam Lopatka immediately faced two difficult problems--incessant dissension between Church and State after martial law was proclaimed, and preparations for the Pontiff's visit. I reminded him that 3 years ago, I had met the predecessor of his predecessor in this very same room. "In Poland," he said with a sigh, "cabinet ministers often change." Perhaps he was only joking. People had described him to me as a tough, introverted type; instead he was ready to talk openly with me and answer incendiary questions that sometimes bordered on brutality.

Blow by blow, he never failed to respond, although at times with a degree of reticence. He was, of course, bringing grist to his mill by taking credit on a wide range of arguments for his contention that there are no critical issues on the carpet between Church and State; in fact, the Polish Government is preparing a sort of "historic compromise," and the Pope's visit will signify a kind of guarantee for it on the part of the regime. Lopatka is ready to parry questions on many points, especially the so-called "political activities" undertaken by the Polish Church. But to better understand through his thinking the attitudes of the government with which he collaborates, here I will refer only to the objections I myself raised during our talk. Beforehand, in fact, we had agreed on a premise as our point of departure: that our conversation should be constructive and should make some contribution, however small, to the common cause, to the "welfare" of Poland, even though we would no doubt interpret the meaning of "welfare" differently.

[Question] In a letter sent by the Primate and the secretary of the Episcopate Conferences, the bishops expressed strong reservations about the decree suspending the "state of war."

[Answer] The letter arrived at the very moment the parliamentary committees were approving the text of the decree. The president of the Sejm replied to it, saying that since the letter reached us very late, its recommendations could not be taken into consideration. Actually, some of its recommendations were adopted, but the others were unacceptable.

[Question] The letter from the Episcopate protested against rules that provoked "moral objections." Have these rules brought about any consequences to Church-State relations?

[Answer] Relations between the Church and State do not imply that one side must accept in toto the viewpoint of the other side, and vice versa. In his letter of reply, the president of parliament made several comments on the political activities of the Episcopate and of individual bishops. The Episcopate does not share his views, in fact, it has never responded to them. But this does not mean that without a response forthcoming, someone in the government might think that our contacts or our collaboration are endangered. Similarly, Monsignor Glemp and Monsignor Dabrowski will not think that Church-State relations are threatened because the State has not acted on their recommendations. It goes without saying that the Church alone cannot decide what is and what is not moral in Poland.

"We Are Satisfied With These Relations"

[Question] The bishops even hinted at unconstitutional laws...

[Answer] In Poland, such matters must be judged by our highest authority, the parliament. However, we foresee a Constitutional Court established in the immediate future. Meanwhile, parliament has expressed its authoritative judgment.

[Question] Then how must we see these relations between Church and State? As a dialectic rapport?

[Answer] I will anticipate my answer by saying that, at the present time, these relations are normal. But what does "normal" mean? Both sides are confronting a whole range of problems in a sincere collaboration. Other problems are being tackled in a climate of peaceful coexistence. And then, there are many aspects of ecclesiastical life that do not concern the State whatever, as well as particular areas in government affairs which do not warrant any intervention by the Church. Furthermore, there are controversies over the Church's missionary objectives, but the Polish State is laic, and means to remain laic. In short, you have ideological, philosophical, and political conflicts because, taking an interest in politics, the Church has involved itself in politics. Sometimes its attitudes and political directions do not correspond with those of the State, and then disagreements arise, although generally of short duration.

And again, conflicts break out over material questions, because the Church possesses considerable assets. In conclusion, we can be satisfied with those relations founded on collaboration, on coexistence, and--why not?--Even on conflict. And I believe that that is how it will be in the future.

[Question] In other words, you are saying that the Polish Church is taking an active part in politics...?

[Answer] For many years now, we have abandoned the conviction that the Church should not take part in politics. Now we only require the Church to avoid engaging in antisocialist and antigovernment actions.

[Question] But this is a contradiction.

[Answer] How? I don't understand.

[Question] You permit the Church to take an active part in politics but only on a one-way street--never against you.

[Answer] I'm afraid I find it difficult to agree with what you say. The policies the Church is following or will follow must not take the form of antigovernment activities. To the contrary, they must be manifested as support for the government through projects and ideas that contribute toward creating the infrastructures of political life. If the Church works against the government and the socialist order, that will naturally displease the State. This is what I say, and that's it.

[Question] Don't you have anything to add?

[Answer] Some people would like to see the Church direct its politics exclusively against the government; they execrate those bishops who prefer to disagree with them. According to my view, in their social and political actions, the men who represent the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy have never acted merely to please those who want the Church to carry out anti-socialist policies; on the contrary, these bishops have always been realistically inspired by the interests of the Church and the interests of the nation, and sided with the State. This is the criterion for evaluating the directions and political choices of the Church.

[Question] Do you have Monsignor Glemp particularly in mind?

[Answer] Not only the Primate but also Cardinal Wyszynski and many other exponents of the Polish Church, yesterday and today.

[Question] Stated differently, you would like to make people believe that a "compromise" between the Polish Church and State does actually exist, is that it?

[Answer] I have just read an article in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, which reminded me that compromise has always been a constant factor of Poland's political culture.

[Question] When was this analysis made?

[Answer] In the 13th century.

[Question] But what about today?

[Answer] The Italian Communist Party conceived the idea of a historic compromise, but never achieved it. We have not formulated any similar compromise, nevertheless with more or less backing and filling on a broad scale--and not a little pain--we are realizing it. And we believe that the conditions for realizing it are better today than they have been in the past.

The "Laborem Exercens" and the New Unions

[Question] Certainly the Polish Church has never approved of disbanding Solidarity.

[Answer] Have you read the most recent documents of the Episcopate?

[Question] Yes I have. Again in the last one, issued at the beginning of December, the bishops deplored the suppression of Solidarity.

[Answer] And then, what did the document say?

[Question] It appealed to the "Laborem Exercens" to reaffirm that in the scale of human rights, first place must go to the right of workers to create their own unions freely.

[Answer] Yes, the encyclical is well known in Poland, and it has been widely discussed. But we see no contradiction between the encyclical's recommendations and the situation in our country. A new law has been enacted on the unions, to take effect on 1 January.

[Question] But with the suspension of martial law, do you really believe that the Polish Church will agree that the conditions for social accord and for the Pope's visit in Poland have been satisfied?

[Answer] The Church would never impose any conditions for the Pope's visit and, in fact, it is not imposing any. I repeat, if there are any conflicts between the Church and State, they do not last long. For example, the dispute over internment camps has been resolved: now no more persons will be interned. Also the dispute over Walesa has been resolved: he has been released.

#### Better if Walesa Were a Private Citizen

[Question] Surely the Church would have preferred to see Walesa liberated as head of Solidarity, not as a simple private citizen.

[Answer] Well, what has happened has happened. First of all, I do not think that today the Polish Church wants Walesa as president of Solidarity. I say that Walesa is a private person not only in the eyes of our government. I also say that Walesa should remain a private citizen, not only in his own interests but also in the interests of the Church and State.

[Question] In the sense that he seems to have changed?

[Answer] I cannot tell. I haven't seen him for 14 months.

[Question] Again on the subject of the Pope's visit: the date has been fixed for 18 June. Are there any problems in sight?

[Answer] Yes, obviously there are problems about the preparations. Both Church and State must do a massive preliminary job. We all think that the visit must be fruitful not only for the Church but for the whole nation and the State. The Episcopate itself believes that the visit could mitigate resentments still felt today in various sectors of our society, and that it could contribute toward normalizing Poland's social and political situation. We in the government hope that it will really turn out that way.

[Question] Do you know how long the visit will last and what the Pope's itinerary will be?

[Answer] That will be decided by February. In any event, it should be remembered that the Church views the Pontiff's visit as a connecting link, as a pilgrimage to the celebrations in honor of the Black Madonna--also, in substance, as the ideal circumstance to proceed with the canonization of Kolbe. Apparently there is talk of beautifying other Poles as well.

[Question] The Soviet press has been attacking the Pope. Could that be because Moscow does not want him to return to his homeland?

[Answer] I think that the Soviet press--like the press in other countries and in the West--has its own interest in the Pope's visit to Poland. I find nothing objectionable in that. It is normal for the press in different countries to see a problem from its own point of view. We read our own press, the Soviet press, the press in other socialist and Western nations. But we make our decisions according to the sum of all the considerations at our disposal. In any case, these decisions are inspired by the interests of the nation.

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POLAND

LOMZA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Functioning of Party Information System

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 4 Nov 82 p 2

Article by Z.P.

Text At its last meeting, the Executive Board of the KW /Voivodship Committee/ of the PZPR /Polish United Workers' Party/ in Lomza evaluated the activity of the voivodship organization of ZBoWID and acquainted itself with materials on the procedure for handling complaints and letters coming in to the KW during the first three quarters of this year and also on the functioning of the system of party information in the voivodship.

Among almost 5,500 members of the Lomza ZBoWID, there are currently 2,151 participants of the battles of September 1939, 303 soldiers of the LWP (Polish People's Army), 135 from the Polish Armed Forces in the West, and 293 former soldiers of the Red Army: 546 ZBoWID members took part in the consolidation of the people's authority, 721 participated in the armed resistance movement during Hitler's occupation. The voivodship organization of ZBoWID has gathered, moreover, 296 prisoners of German concentration camps and 61 former teachers of the underground school.

The Executive Board expressed words of respect to the Voivodship Administration as well as its presidium for work to date pointing to the need to look for new and even more effective, in the current situation, forms of participation in social life.

The problem which the complaints and letters coming in to the KW of the PZPR from citizens have pertained to, and also the procedure for taking care of them, very often arises at Executive Board meetings. The voivodship party echelon accepted the principle that everyone who comes to the party with his complaints should be heard and his problem handled fairly within existing possibilities in accordance with the social interest. This requires constant improvement of structures and methods of work and constant analysis of the causes and sources of tension.

The Executive Board decided to recommend to the party echelons creation of intervention groups, the task of which would be to determine the causes and

sources of complaints in given communities. This topic should once per quarter be the subject of the Executive Board meeting and once a year of the gmina, city-gmina, and city party echelon plenums.

Effective activity of the party as a whole depends on the functioning of the party information system. In the materials of Ninth Congress, much space was devoted to this problem. Since that time, systematic work has been carried out on improving the flow of information which reaches individual echelons, organizations and members of the party.

#### Implementation of Party Tasks

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 18 Nov 82 p 2

/Article by C.J./

/Text/ (own information) At a joint conference of the Executive Board of the KW of the PZPR and the Presidium of the WK /Voivodship Committee/ of the ZSL /United Peasant's Party/ in Lomza, participants acquainted themselves with the voivodship head's information on the realization of tasks resulting from the directives of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Presidium of the NK(Chief Committee) of the ZSL on the matter of crucial problems of agricultural policy and food economy. The statutory executive organs of the two voivodship echelons undertook a complex evaluation of the tasks resulting from this documents.

It was stated that sociolegal protection of the agricultural sphere during the two years of instituting these directives on a voivodship scale is being felt although it is still far from the actual needs. A positive element noted in this period was the productive approach of the majority of farmers to the tasks facing them. However, the supply of means of production and investment goods to the countryside and agriculture has constantly been unsatisfactory.

The Executive Board of the KW and the Presidium of the WK of the ZSL stated the need to continue political work in the countryside in the area of strengthening the belief that the declaration contained in the directives will be fulfilled as the economy normalizes. Also, a suggestion was worked out for the absolute priorities in economic and social activity, especially those important in the circumstances of Lomza voivodship, as for example, the concentration of the technical-organizational potential in reclamation works and the supplying of water to the countryside, further improvement of conditions of production, services, and guidance. Attention was also given to the need for social-trade organizations of farmers to undertake more active work for the protection of the interests of agricultural producers.

On the next point of the meeting, the Executive Board of the KW decided on 12 August 1982, to hold a plenary session of the KW of the PZPR, the subject of which would be the tasks for the voivodship party organization resulting from the resolution of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee and the confirmation of the account on the voivodship reporting conference.

## Enterprises Improving Female Work Conditions

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 2 Dec 82 p 2

### /Article by Z.P./

/Text/ (own information) The Executive Board of the KW of the PZPR in Lomza acquainted itself with information on the subject of the realization of undertakings having as a goal the improvement of working and living conditions of women. Participating in the meeting were women members of the Presidium of the Voivodship Administration of the League of Polish Women in Lomza, and also the secretary of the Main Administration (Headquarters) of the League.

The LKP (League of Women Voters) in Lomza brings together approximately 3,000 women members. One of the ongoing forms of its activity is the citizenship schools. Different types of competitions are also organized. Among the most popular are: "The Family in the Club", "The Family and the Law", and "Readers of PRZYJACIELKA /"Best Girl Friend"/ to Children". Recently, many women have taken advantage of legal counsel.

This of course is only one line of activity of the LKP. The organization also works for the fuller observance of the principles of the advancement of women and the economic improvement of households, and cares for handicapped persons.

The Executive Board of the KW highly rated the contribution of the LKP stressing that all the activities of the organization serve national understanding, and result in an increasing effectiveness of the activities undertaken by the party and government for pulling the country out of the crisis.

The Executive Board of the KW pointed to the usefulness of creating on a wide scale LKP units in industrial enterprises of the voivodship where they would defend, for example, rights of women to protected work and suitable health care. Through the mediation of the LKP, women could influence the process of administration and affect better management in the plant.

## Importance of Concrete Economic Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 9 Dec 82 p 1, 2

### /Article by Klos/

/Text/ Yesterday, in Lomza, under the supervision of first secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Wladzimierz Michaluk, the Voivodship Committee of the party met in a plenary session. The subject of the meeting was the tasks of the voivodship party organization resulting from the contents of the declarations of the Tenth Plenum of the CC PZPR.

The report leading to the discussion was presented by KW secretary Miroslaw Skalski. Reminding the group that the Tenth Plenum of the CC was devoted to the economic and political problem, he stated, among other things, that overcoming the social crisis is impossible without emerging from the economic crisis. Progress in the economy decides to a significant degree the

extent of the restoration of trust in the authorities and the strengthening of the party's position in society.

It was stated in the report that the main condition for normal functioning of the market is the creation of a situation where delivery of goods exceeds the growth of the money income of the population. Supply must exceed demand.

The present prices leave much to be desired. In many plants, production costs are very high. They often result from an incomplete utilization of machines, high energy and material use, excessive bureaucracy and low efficiency. Emphasizing that prices depend to the greatest degree on the producers themselves, it was stated at the same time that these matters must be at the center of attention of party organizations and echelons. In connection with this, work of groups formed by party initiative, to analyze costs and prices, require activation. Negatively evaluating the activity to date of these groups it was stated that in the interest of all of society the problem of costs and prices to be taken up by workers and cooperative autonomous groups.

The supply of worker crews is always given much attention because through the prism of the market situation, society evaluates the efficiency of the functioning of the economy and the effectiveness of the activity of the authorities.

In October of this year in Lomza voivodship a six percent increase in production, as compared to September was noted. Despite this, for the first ten months of this year, production results are lower than last year. Only in units of small industry have sales for the ten months of the current year increased, and that by 11 percent in relation to the same period last year. This growth was reached mainly through an increase in work output. In the past months of the current year, employment in the voivodship's industry has decreased by 4.6 percent, work output has decreased by five percent while wages, together with benefits increased 51 percent. This caused further concern in the Lomza market.

During the ten months of the current year, 822 housing units were turned over by the housing construction industry, i.e. 224 more units than in the same period last year. These results are greater than those of the country as a whole by more than 58 percentage points which places Lomza voivodship in third position in the country.

In comparison with last year, a small increase of grain yields, amounting to 0.3 q/ha was attained but much lower total yields because of 60 q/ha yields of potatoes and 40 p/ha of sugar beets. The inventory for the third quarter indicates a certain stabilization in the number of cattle but in the hog population a decline in the range of seven percent is occurring. Purchase of edible grain is also developing unsatisfactorily.

In the discussion it was emphasized that party organizations should fulfill the role of high level spokesman for the plans of enterprises which must be concrete and mobilizing. Fulfillment of both of these conditions will

assure a strengthening of the role of central planning. In the POP and plant committees of the party rests the responsibility of assuring competent association of the interests of the enterprises with the interests of all of society and also for the synchronization of the goals and means of managing in the enterprise with the assumptions of the voiyodship central plans.

Party echelons must free themselves from many dispensable and superficial activities involving them in the decisionmaking processes handing the same to the many people directly responsible for these matters. More of the activity should be devoted to conceptual programming and conceptual work.

Economic reform has certain imperfections, the participants stressed. But it must be remembered that it was prepared in a hurry under great pressure from society. Its mechanisms operate in a period of severe disproportion and general disorder of the economy. Needed for initiating it, therefore, are brave people having their own opinion, for whom the questions of this reform are of great concern. Every person who has a good idea should be listened to attentively, especially in the party committee, his organization. He must be certain that in his party he will find an ally. It is high time that reform reached every work position in the factory.

Overcoming of the crisis and a successful realization of the tasks for the years 1983-85 will be decided to a great extent by the attitude of all of society and by the active work of worker self-governing bodies. Great tasks also fact the new trade unions. Thus far, in the voivodship, 120 initiative groups have been started of which there are 17 founder's committees.

The participants emphasized also the need to carry the content of the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of the CC of the PZPR to every work position. The plenum accepted the resolution on the questions raised.

On the second point, materials were accepted for the Voivodship Reporting-Programming Conference of the PZPR. Also, the date was set for 22 January 1983. Besides the carry-over delegates from the previous conference, activist from the workers' movement will take part in it.

The plenum accepted the decision of the Executive Board of the KW of the PZPR on the appointment of Jan Jamiolkowski to the position of head of the Economic Institute of the KW of the PZPR, and that of Teresa Polecka to the position of head of the ROPP (Regional Center for Party Work) in Lomza. During the meeting the secretary of the KW of the PZPR, Mieczyslaw Gorski, presented information on the realization of the proposals and demands directed to the party echelons.

#### Echelon Participation in Reports Campaign

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 24-25-26 Dec 82 p 2

/Article by Z.P./

/Text/ At its last meeting, the Executive Board of the KW of the PZPR in Lomza acquainted itself with information on the course of the reporting conferences

and also evaluated the activity of the Regional Center for Party Work in Lomza.

The Lomza voivodship, as one of the first in the country, ended the reporting campaign. It proceeded with a relatively high attendance. In the meeting of the echelons, in the gminas an average of 87.5 percent of the delegates took part; in the city-gminas, about 70 percent took part.

The discussion was objective, often critical. It still must be stressed that at many conferences party debate was characterized by a singleness of direction. Mainly taken up were problems of an economic nature, of the lack of means of agricultural production, improper distribution of machines and economic and construction materials. From time to time there was reference to the fact that the conference itself is a part of the national council sessions and not of the party conferences, write the authors of the material concerning the course of the conference.

In the discussion, there was reference to the idea of creating a front of national understanding. The participation of party members in PRON, the need to develop rural autonomy and self-government in work enterprises were discussed. Problems of reform occupied much of the agenda. All the voices, regardless of whether they concerned economic, social, political, or inter-party matters, touched upon the most important question for Poles- the role of the PZPR in leading the country out the socioeconomic crisis, in returning to the right place the principles of social justice in building mechanisms which in the future will prevent the accumulation of social tensions, of mistakes in the management of the economy, and in the undertaking of important political decisions.

The contribution of the campaign has tremendous meaning for the voivodship organization. It mobilized all its units, and it showed how in its ranks the process of restoration is proceeding and what hinders restoration.

The Regional Center for Party Work in Lomza includes in its scope basic level echelons in Lomza, Sniadow, Miastkow, Nowogrod, Jedwabny, Platnica, Wiznia, and Zbojna, or 167 POP's (Party Work Centers) comprising 2134 members. The year-round activity of this center proved that creation of the unit in the structure of the PZPR was well advised. Its usefulness was proven in different situations difficult for the party as a whole and for particular echelons. The Executive Board highly rated the contribution of ROPP in Lomza stating that many structures worked out can and should be carried over to the basic units and to other units of the ROPP. Systematic informational and educational activity is being carried out here, work with councilmen and youth, among others. An atmosphere of mutual goodwill, trust and friendship prevails.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Bielsko-Biala Province Plenum

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26-28 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Klis and Stanislaw Mol]

[Text] The plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bielsko-Biala on 25 November 1982 was devoted to the evaluation of the functioning of the voivodship economy in the light of the resolutions of the Seventh and Eighth PZPR Central Committee plenary meetings as well as of the tasks of the voivodship party organization after the Tenth PZPR Central Committee plenary meeting.

The meeting was chaired by Andrzej Gdula, first secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW PZPR] and it was attended by Manfred Gorywoda, secretary, PZPR Central Committee [CC PZPR]. Franciszek Strzalka, economic secretary, KW PZPR, presented an introduction to the discussion which followed. He stated that as early as February an introductory evaluation was made of the preparation for reform in offices and enterprises. At the same time the activity directions for the voivodship party organization were spelled out.

The evaluation of the functioning of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship economy was based on the experiences of political and economic activists from enterprises as recorded by the first-step echelons and problem-solving commissions of KW PZPR. Thus gathered material was then consulted with selected enterprise committee [KZ] secretaries, and later analyzed by the KW PZPR Executive Committee.

The analysis of the realization of resolutions of the Seventh and Eighth CC PZPR plenary meetings in the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship shows that the introduction of reform has not been correct in all offices and enterprises. Although in the first months of this year the state-owned enterprises showed considerable profitability, their production was lower than in the same period a year earlier. Lower production (only 93.1 percent of tasks were accomplished in comparison with the same period in 1981) was caused in a considerable degree by serious problems with the availability of raw materials, material resources, and trained specialists. Nevertheless,

the labor efficiency in industrial enterprises increased, which is a positive phenomenon. The realization of housing construction was very sporadic as well. In the first 10 months of this year only 1,180 apartments were completed, which was 73.5 percent of construction accomplished in the same period a year earlier.

One of the basic tasks of party activists in the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship is the systematic introduction of the reform mechanism and preferential treatment of production for the domestic market and for exports. The Basic Party Organizations [POP] and KZ have a particular responsibility to secure skillful combination of the enterprise and the public interests. Party organizations must intensify their influences on management and work force to overcome slowdowns and to faster change to new management mechanisms, which require initiative and resourcefulness. There is no place for the existing tendencies--in some enterprise party organizations and enterprises--of selective realization of individual tasks, contained in the resolutions of the Seventh and Eighth CC PZPR plenary meetings. The achievement of a higher standard of living and acceleration of the process of overcoming the crisis depend on increased volume of production. This requires further increase in production efficiency as well as better utilization of production capabilities, raw materials, and material resources.

Discussion participants--many comrades participated in it--presented problems faced by the employees of enterprises. They showed the functioning of the economic reform mechanisms through the prism of experience in different enterprises. It was apparent, however, that many criticisms of the reform had a universal character. The major one was directed against deficiencies of the financial system. Criticisms were expressed with regard to motivational factors and the tax policy. Attention was also paid--particularly in reference to construction problems--to the fact that the results and effective management of individual enterprises are still affected by the uneven preparation for reform and incomplete resolution of many regulatory acts.

The discussion was summed up by comrade Gorywoda, CC PZPR secretary. He presented an extensive report on the conditions and criteria of economic endeavors for the nearest future which were approved by the last CC PZPR plenary meeting.

The meeting participants passed a resolution, which spelled out the program of activity of the voivodship party organization with regard to improvement of economic performance in the Podbeskidzie region.

#### Bielsko-Biala Youth Program

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jozef Klis and Stanislaw Mol]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW PZPR] in Bielsko-Biala on 28 December 1982 was devoted to the evaluation of the tasks of the voivodship party organization with regard to its youth work in the

light of the resolution passed at the ninth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee [CC PZPR]. The meeting was chaired by comrade Andrzej Gdula, first secretary KW PZPR, and it was attended by comrade Waldemar Swirgon, secretary, CC PZPR. Representatives of youth organizations in the Podbeskidzie region were among the participants.

Comrade Kazimierz Ledwon, secretary, KW PZPR, made the opening statement, noting, among other things, that as early as September 1982 the PZPR Voivodship Committee discussed socialist upbringing at its plenary meeting, which formulated the main tasks of the voivodship party organizations with regard to the realization of the resolution of the ninth CC PZPR plenary meeting.

Furthermore, the voivodship timetable for the realization of the tasks after the ninth CC PZPR plenary meeting with respect to activities aiming at improving the living and working conditions of the young as well as party work with the young and cooperation with the youth movement.

It should be pointed out that the activities of the party organizations in this field vary. While there are organizations which maintain contacts with youth groups, there are also organizations which pay no attention to this problem, as pointed out by Tadeusz Pilarz, chairman, Voivodship Board, Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZW ZSMP], in Bielsko-Biala. There is an urgent need for change, because in those areas youth organizations are the least active or not active at all.

The resolution of the ninth CC PZPR plenary meeting made it obligatory for all echelons and party organizations to carry out evaluations of attitudes and involvement of young party members in the activities of youth organizations and to formulate party tasks for these young people. Not all organizations and echelons, however, have made such evaluations, and the tasks given to the young party members do not always have a defined aim.

Participants emphasized growing participation of the young in government, among other ways, through their work in people's councils and economic administration; but the discussants also noted that these young people do not always really represent the interests of the young. Furthermore, it is disturbing that many valuable initiatives of the young, such as, for example, the establishment of a cultural youth center, do not go beyond the sphere of meetings and discussions, which have no effect. The participants were presented an improvement program of living and professional conditions for the young drafted by the Committee for Youth Affairs, attached to the office of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship governor. The document met with disapproval on the part of representatives of youth organizations. They emphasized the lack of opportunity to accomplish many points of the program in the present economic conditions.

In the course of discussions lasting many hours, the whole gamut of problems was discussed covering economic, social-living, professional, upbringing, and ideological questions. A common thread in these speeches was a reminder of the need to view the problem of the young in a broader context.

They stated that the young cannot function as an artificially isolated social group. Also emphasized was the need to recognize the independence and peculiarities of the young generation. Therefore, the idea is not to solve the affairs of the young for them, but to create conditions allowing the young segment of the population to utilize their inventiveness, force of growth, and enthusiasm.

The discussion was summed up by comrade Waldemar Swirgon, secretary, CC PZPR, who stated, among other things, that the problem of the young constitutes in fact the problem of the future of the nation. The affairs of the young are in a sense a laboratory for a very severe struggle and ideological diversion, aiming at compromising the socialist system and pulling away from socialism the most vital groups of the society. The speaker also emphasized that it is necessary to abandon the concept of the young as a category and to focus on specific situations of young workers, college students, high school students, and farmers. The decisions of the ninth CC PZPR plenary meeting, showing the party's determination to resolve the problems of the young, have begun the first phase of action and the easiest one, consisting of approval of documents, establishment of institutions, and drafting programs. We are rich in knowledge, acquired as a result of conducted analyses of disaster, for this is how we should evaluate the attempt to deal with the problems of the young 10 years ago. We know, then, that it is impossible and pointless to try to buy the young. The party can and will create conditions for us to help each other and the youth movement. Nobody has the right to anything because of age, but because of a willingness to take advantage of offered opportunity.

The participants passed a resolution defining the most important tasks of the voivodship party organization with regard to work with the young in accordance with the resolution of the ninth CC PZPR plenary meeting.

#### Bydgoszcz Province Ideological Indoctrination

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 14 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (Mak.)]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting of the KW PZPR Executive Committee in Bydgoszcz was devoted to the evaluation of the ideological-educational and propaganda activities of the Bydgoszcz party organization. In order to analyze the forms and methods utilized by the city party organizations and to evaluate the effectiveness of activities in this field undertaken by the PZPR City Committee [KM PZPR], the members of the KW problem-solving commissions and the employees of the Voivodship Information and Ideological Education Center conducted interviews at 32 Basic Party Organizations [POP] in enterprises, offices, and colleges in November 1982. These materials constituted the background information sent to the members of the KW Executive Committee prior to the meeting. The discussion at yesterday's meeting gave them a deeper meaning.

Bialystok Plenum on Reports Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 18 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A. Labanow]

[Text] Yesterday in Bialystok a plenary meeting of the Voivodship Committee [KW] was held under the chairmanship of Stefan Zawodzinski, first secretary, KW PZPR. The meeting was devoted to the evaluation of the reports campaign in the party echelons and organizations, to the discussion of materials prepared for the Voivodship Reports-Program Conference as well as organizational matters.

The introductory speech was delivered by Tadeusz Doroszko, KW secretary. He reported on the situation in the voivodship organization in the last 2 years, and particularly in the period of the reports campaign, by presenting a preliminary evaluation of its course and focusing in particular on the realization of earlier resolutions and suggestions presented during the last term. Comrade Doroszko stated that the reports campaign encouraged to a more dynamic activity a clear majority of the party organizations, whose presence is more visible in the collective. Party organizations undertake and consistently resolve problems faced by their membership. The campaign also contributed to a further consolidation of the party ranks, strengthening of discipline, and--most importantly--to the regaining of authority by the party to a considerable degree.

The speaker then presented the state of preparations for the Voivodship Reports-Program Conference. Special teams were established to draft the KW report and the program of activities for the future. The teams were composed of the problem commissions members and KW employees. The teams presented the KW report draft to the problem commissions for discussion in the spirit of collective formulation of conference documents. The activities program and report drafts were also jointly considered by the KW Secretariat, team chairmen, KW Executive Committee, and all problem-solving commissions chairmen.

The KW PZPR report for the period June 1981-February 1983 is very synthetic and discusses the problems of political, not of economic work. For the delegates in addition to reports from KW, Voivodship Audit Commission, and Voivodship Party Control Commission will also receive supplementary materials, including one report on the voivodship economic problems.

The discussion focused primarily on what should have been included in the activities program of the voivodship party organization for the second part of the term, that is on intraparty activity, work with the youth, economic reform, establishment of trade unions, and resolution of social problems.

The Voivodship Committee passed a resolution, which scheduled the Reports-Program Conference for 10 February 1983, approved the KW report, and authorized its presentation at the Conference with supplementary materials to be forwarded to the Conference delegates by 22 January 1983.

The activities of the Bydgoszcz party organization in this field met with approval. Particular attention was paid to the realization of the training program, aiming at deepening knowledge and understanding of current socio-political and economic phenomena, as well as at broadening the ideological knowledge about the basics of marxism and leninism. The Bydgoszcz organization has accomplished a lot already, but it has still much to do. For the importance of the ideological-educational and propaganda work is not properly recognized by all POP's. The involvement of party members is of fundamental importance here. Therefore, it is disturbing that there is no propaganda activists in such enterprises and institutions as the POLLENA Household Chemical Products Works, Municipal Sanitation Enterprise [MPOM], and the Voivodship Hospital Complex. The situation at KOBRA Pomorze Leather Industry Works, ELEKTROMONTAZ Enterprise for Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for Construction Industry, Technical Agricultural Academy [ATR], and Higher Pedagogical School [WSP] was criticized. It was also agreed on the need to reestablish enterprise centers for ideological-educational work in places where they had been discontinued.

The City Information and Ideological Education Center assists in the organization of training by preparing materials for courses and suggesting topics. The training of candidates continues, although it does not cover all comrades. This year, training for young party members has been started. Increased interest has been observed with regard to training at the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism [WUML], but it is disturbing that the WUML courses for the young had to be cancelled due to poor attendance. A good initiative are weekly information meetings with party secretaries and KM-inspired biweekly meetings with specialists as well as problem meetings to discuss topics proposed by the POP's. The KM Center for the Study of Party Members Opinion serves a useful purpose as well.

The discussants talked about the need for intensification of the ideological-educational and propaganda work in educational institutions, colleges as well as enterprise and office organizations. The need for greater recognition of visual propaganda and broader use of enterprise and office radio systems, such as PA, for popularization of party and sociopolitical topics was discussed.

The discussion was summed up by comrade Henryk Bednarski, first secretary, KW PZPR, who emphasized once again that the ideological-educational and propaganda activities are an important factor strengthening the party, and stated that positive experiences of the Bydgoszcz party organization in this field ought to be adopted by the voivodship party organization. A special team was created to work out the details of the program in this respect and present them to the KW Executive Committee in the near future.

The KW Executive Committee members were also apprised of the state of preparations for the PZPR voivodship reporting conference scheduled for 17 January. The Executive Committee approved its work schedule for the nearest future.

The Voivodship Committee obligated the KW Secretariat to organize regional consultation meetings for the delegates to the Conference with KW secretaries participating on 22-27 January 1983. The draft of the activities program for the voivodship party organization was approved as a material for further discussion during meetings of delegates with their Basic Party Organizations [POP], and executive committees of the echelons, among others. KW members, who are also PZPR Central Committee members, were obligated to present agricultural matters at the Central Committee plenary meeting. The elections at the meeting produced the following changes in the KW composition: Stanislaw Sekowski, manager, KW Department of Science, Education, and Culture, and Leon Charytoniuk, manager, Agricultural Cooperative at Pawly, Zabłodow Gmina, were elevated from alternate to full KW members; and Tadeusz Trzaskowski, manager, KW Economic Department, and Stanislaw Jackowski, employee of FASTA Bydgoszcz Cotton Industry Mill and secretary of the Enterprise Party Committee, were elected alternate KW members.

The Voivodship Committee approved the decision of the Executive Committee to appoint Anatol Wakuluk to the position of manager of KW Department of Political Information. Furthermore, the participants passed a motion to approve reports on the activities of the KW Executive Committee and Secretariat.

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CSO: 2600/358

POZNAN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Plenum Resolution

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14 Dec 82 p 6

Text The PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan fully approves the report of the executive board of the PZPR Provincial Committee concerning the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the Poznan province in solving the main problems of social and economic development of the province and city of Poznan in the years 1983-1985. The PZPR Provincial Committee expresses its thanks to all the inhabitants of our province who, through their good judgment, political maturity, and intense involvement in professional work, have contributed to social and political stabilization in our province.

On the basis of motions resulting from discussions during today's plenum as well as in party echelons and organizations and during meetings with the local economic aktiv, the PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan asserts the following:

1. An expression of the political implementation of the resolutions of PZPR Ninth Congress will be full implementation of the decisions of the Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee commits party organizations and echelons to their full implementation. The Socioeconomic Department, together with interested Departments, will examine motions which were made in the plenary discussion and will submit to the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee information about their implementation. Party echelons and organizations will prepare a detailed schedule for the implementation of tasks resulting from the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee and from today's plenum of PZPR Provincial Committee. Party echelons are committed to systematic control of the implementation of accepted schedules.
2. The directions of development of farm production, accepted at a joint session of the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee and of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of United Peasant Party WK ZSL on 27 November 1982, need to be consistently implemented. In view of increasing difficulties in supplying water to rural areas, work on land reclamation and rural water supply projects ought to be accelerated. In connection with the above, the Group of Councilmen of PZPR Provincial National Council PZPR WRN is charged to see to it that appropriate budget portions are allocated for agricultural investment. This is a basic condition for agreement with the resolutions of

investment. This is a basic condition for agreement with the resolutions of PZPR Ninth Congress.

3. The present state of housing construction arouses concern and social criticism. Consequently, efforts must be made to eliminate obstacles that slow down the rate of construction. For this reason also the local authorities, the housing cooperative movement, and the construction enterprises should accelerate their activities in the following areas: preparation of sites for construction, initiation of production of hard-to-obtain building materials, as well as implementation of supplementary construction projects. The Socioeconomic Department of PZPR Provincial Committee is charged to make a current analysis of progress in this area and to regularly inform the executive board of the Provincial Committee about the state of implementation of tasks in the construction industry.

The Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee directs an appeal to the construction work forces in the Poznan province to support, with their continued productive work, the efforts of the province's authorities to solve the problems of construction.

4. A basic condition for continued, more rapid Economic recovery is consistent implementation of the economic reform. Changes in operation of enterprises, accepted for the year 1983, create conditions for practicing management efficiency, improving the quality of products, lowering costs; they also create opportunities for increasing production. In order to more closely interconnect the financial resources of enterprises in solving the essential problems of the city and province of Poznan, we should examine the possibility of creating a Provincial Fund for Environmental Control. The PZPR Provincial Committee supports the decisions which were accepted at its plenary session on 28 April 1982 and that of the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee on 9 October 1982, concerning implementation of the economic reform, including especially advice to party organizations and echelons on current observation of the functioning of the economic solutions being implemented and of their social effects.

5. In order to improve the living conditions of citizens, to alleviate the effects of the crisis, and to accelerate recovery, party members employed in all positions will initiate introduction of work on off-work Saturdays and during the 2nd and 3rd shifts in industrial plants, on condition that work-time currently in effect is fully utilized, that sufficient supplies of raw materials and other materials are available, that the right to individual decisions in this matter is safeguarded, and that an appropriately attractive system of compensation is created.

6. In order to accelerate Economic recovery, party organizations will undertake a study of the possibilities of initiating or increasing export production, making an effort to increase economic cooperation with the CEMA countries, including particularly the Soviet Union.

7. Party echelons and organizations should initiate actions which aim at creating political conditions for the emergence and development of:

--an independent, self-governing trade union movement,  
--elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth,  
--as well as of employee self-government in industrial plants.

Party organizations will make a study of the conditions of life and work of plant work forces and of the preparation of plant programs of social activity as an integral part of plant socioeconomic plans.

The PZPR Provincial Committee charges party organizations and echelons to complete, by the end of the first quarter of 1983, a detailed analysis and account of the implementation of the Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of PZPR Central Committee. The Socioeconomic Department will present information on this subject to the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee.

The PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan, taking into account the resolutions of the Tenth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee and having acquainted itself with the "Draft of Projects in the Poznan Province for the Year 1983 and for the Years 1983-1985," and having discussed the above draft, affirms that growth of farm production and food economy, further growth of housing construction, as well as social protection of the neediest part of the population, should be given priority in the plan for socioeconomic development of the province in the years 1983-1985.

#### Development of Small-Scale Industry

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 22 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

Article by aka: "Development of Small-Scale Industry: Joint Session of the Executive Board of PZPR Provincial Committee and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party in Poznan"

Text Development of small-scale industry in Poznan Province under the conditions of the operation of the economic reform was the topic of a joint session of the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee KW PZPR and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party WK SD, which took place in Poznan yesterday.

Small-scale industry in Poznan Province includes: 42 socialized small-scale industry units, over 13,000 handcraft shops, 32 Polish-American and foreign enterprises which are located in other provinces, and also approximately 4,000 units of private automotive transportation. The share of small-scale industry in the total industrial production of the province amounts to 42.7 percent in the area of employment, while the value of sales of its own production and services amounts to 17.3 percent. Its true importance is borne out by the fact that its entire activity benefits the domestic market by more flexibly reacting to changing market demands, to the need to adapt its production to local needs, and to the possibilities of utilizing, to a greater degree, waste, reprocessed, and local raw materials.

The presented topic evoked considerable interest on the part of the members of the executive board of PZPR Provincial Committee and of the Presidium of the

Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party. In a discussion, they touched upon the problem of development of services, the prices of articles which are produced by units of this branch of economy, as well as of offered services; they also discussed training of future craftsmen, materials supply, and the role of the administrative authorities in promoting the creation and growth of needed units.

Considerable attention was devoted to deviations from the originally-accepted principles of operation of Polish-American and foreign companies. While admitting the need to develop small-scale industry, the participants at the same time asserted that this development cannot conflict with the interests of our society. They emphasized that it is necessary to counteract consistently and relevantly any distortions which occur in this area, by eliminating causes and not effects.

In a jointly accepted position statement, the executive board of PZPR Central Committee and the presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party recognized that creation of conditions for the development and full utilization of the existing production and service potential of the entire small-scale industry is a task of particular socioeconomic importance. Consequently, it is necessary for the political and administrative authorities of the province to implement a long-range policy with regard to small-scale industry. The principal trait of this policy must be the stability of the basic regulations. Lack of stabilization of the operating conditions of small-scale industry is one of the main reasons for incomplete utilization of the latter's production and service potentialities. Much greater support should be given to those directions of development and small-scale industry which take into account their social usefulness and the changes in the population's income level. While fostering development, we should consider not only quantitative development but also actions which aim at increasing production, improving quality and lowering costs. State and economic administration should provide for small-scale industry better opportunities to obtain supplies of raw materials and other materials. This concerns particularly the area of service. To satisfy tangible demand for services, it is necessary to develop service centers in places of residence and at main transportation junctions. A new and more comprehensive treatment should be given to the problem of training new cadres for this sector. Through the use of economic and legal instruments, the authorities of the province should initiate a series of actions to eliminate irregularities which occur in the operation of some Polish-American and foreign enterprises, and should carry out a policy which will ensure the stabilization and development of already existing enterprises and the creation of new enterprises in areas in which our province needs them most.

In order to ensure the stability of operation of small-scale industry, while at the same time counteracting the occurrence of a negative social reaction, the provincial authorities should accelerate the work of writing a law which will define common, uniform and stable principles of operation for all the branches of small-scale industry.

The full text of the position statement of the executive board of KW PZPR and of the presidium of WK SD with regard to development of small-scale industry in the Poznan province under the conditions of the economic reform will be published in a forthcoming Bulletin of KW PZPR.

#### Preparation for Reports Conference

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8-9 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

Article by aka: "From the Work of the Executive Board of PZPR Provincial Committee in Poznan: Party Activity in the Cultural Community; Preparation for Provincial Reports Conference"

Text A session of the Executive Board of PZPR Provincial Committee was held in Poznan yesterday.

The Executive Board made an assessment of the party's status and activity in the area of culture. Basic party organizations PoP operating in creative and artistic communities and propagating culture form jointly a PZPR Cultural Community Committee KSK, which at the same time performs the functions of the Culture Commission of PZPR Provincial Committee. In recent years, the Cultural Community Committee KSK has dealt with many problems, such as making a list of targets of cultural policy in the province for 1981-1983, charting directions of action for the party in this community during the martial law period, acceptance of a program for improving the cultural infrastructure of the city of Poznan, and assessment of the financial resources of the community. The Cultural Community Committee also initiated actions which aimed at consolidation of party ranks, political activization of party creative artists and cultural activists, and at providing appropriate political information as well as information pertaining to most important initiatives of the authorities in the area of culture. The objective of these tasks was to restore the proper place and role to basic party organizations PoP operating in the area of culture, and particularly in the creative and artistic community. Recently, the committee began to cooperate with a program of action which is in preparation and which concerns broadly conceived worker culture and the problem of propagation and development of culture in rural areas. Within the context of the reported progress of the work of the Cultural Community Committee, there was a discussion during which mention was made also of elements which have a negative effect on party work; much attention was devoted to the lowest party echelons and to the implementation of the ideological aspect of party life.

In motions accepted by the Executive Board, the latter recognized, among other things, the need for continued enrichment of the long-range program of party activity in the cultural community. Central resolutions and decisions concerning culture should be applied to the whole territory of the province and implemented in practice. In this respect, attempts to create a polycentric system of functioning of culture in our country are justified. The Executive Board charged PZPR Cultural Community Committee and the basic party organizations PoP operating in this community to demonstrate greater consistency in implementing the accepted program of action.

In the second part of the agenda, the Executive Board was informed about the state of the preparations for the Provincial Reports Conference, which will be held on 12 February of this year.

Plenum of Provincial Audit Commission

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 2

Article by T: "Plenum of PZPR Provincial Audit Commission in Poznan"

Text A session of the plenum of PZPR Provincial Audit Commission WKR was held in Poznan last Saturday. It was chaired by Roman Kochanowicz. The session was also attended by secretary of party Provincial Committee, Jan Mielcarek.

The plenum examined in detail a draft of the report of the Provincial Audit Commission; the report will be presented at the forthcoming Reports Conference of the provincial party echelon in Poznan. The participants pointed out that the document was one-sided, purely informational. In the opinion of comrades, it lacked a critical commentary, as well as information on the results of audits which were carried out by Provincial Audit Commission members, and observations by the latter with regard to the activity of individual party organizations. Consequently, it was proposed to supplement the report with precisely these assessments and to indicate the directions of further actions of the provincial party organizations.

In answer to a question as to the role of a member of the Provincial Audit Commission, a statement was made that he should be not so much an auditor as, above all, a consultant and helper, someone who would be present during the organization stage of the activity of a party organization, making sure that it conforms to the statute which was approved at the Ninth Congress.

This idea is reflected in the accepted preliminary plan of activities of the Provincial Audit Commission for the first quarter of 1983. It has been formulated as follows:

"Actions being initiated by the Provincial Audit Commission are to provide for basic-level party echelons and the Provincial Committee leadership necessary information which will be useful in initiating appropriate political, organizational, and economic actions. Audits, studies, and assessments will be made by permanent groups which will be appointed, as needed, by the Presidium of the Provincial Audit Commission."

During the session, the secretary of the Provincial Committee took the floor. He discussed the current socioeconomic situation in our country and in the Poznan province. He stated, among other things, that most of recent reports of meetings and conferences had been prepared with due responsibility and that they were characterized by considerable involvement on the part of PZPR members, who understood all the complexity of current problems resulting from the suspension of martial law; he pointed to these facts as denoting a further stage in the consolidation of the party's strength.

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CSO: 2600/349

BIALA PODLASKA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Production, Services Development in Agriculture

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 82 p 2

/Article by S.W./

/Text/ (Own Information) At yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee /KW/ of the PZPR in Biala Podlaska, prospects for further development of production and services in agricultural matters were discussed.

In the past as well as current year, free production forces in Biala Podlaska enterprises, being the result of the economic crisis, made possible the introduction of machinery and tools necessary to agriculture. The suggestions of the party were also aimed at this goal. As a result, for example, the Miedzyrzec Meprozet /Enterprise for the Mechanization of Animal Production/ undertook the manufacture of riding grain sowing machines, sickles for potatoes and wheelbarrows, the enterprise WUTEH /expansion unknown/ in Radzyn Podlaski 3- and 4-inch nails, and Zremb /Construction Mechanization Works/ in Miedzyrzec Podlaski tractor-drawn harrows. Within the framework of so-called incidental production, the "Future" Cooperative Works also began to produce tractor-drawn harrows, cultivators and sowers, SKR /expansion unknown/ in Kornica belt hinges, in the POM /State Center of Agricultural Machines/ in Podedwor tractor-drawn harrows and cultivators, the POM in Bezwola manure spreaders, the POM in Miedzyles coal-fired steaming plants and sowers for potatoes, and PRSWM /Expansion unknown/ in Biala Podlaska manure spreaders and agricultural attachments. Some enterprises, such as Zremb in Miedzyrzec Podlaski, among others, the "Driver and Automobile Mechanic" Cooperative or "Modernization Enterprise" in Biala Podlaska initiated production of various parts for agricultural machines--in cooperation with other units.

From the analysis drawn, it appears that in many enterprises the share of production of agricultural items ranges between 50 and 80 percent in proportion to the whole production plan. Supply problems, mainly in metallurgic, chemical and mechanical material, and also considerable initiation costs of new productions, however, stop the production of some machines and tools in a portion of the enterprises. Still, this does not affect MEPROZET in Miedzyrzec, WUTEH in Radzynski, or the local Farm Tool Plant, as well as the Zremb in Miedzyrzec and the Industrial Modernization Enterprise in Biala Podlaska, where

a marked increase in agricultural production goals will occur in the coming year. And these plants still need organizational-technical help as well as an improvement in the supply of raw and other materials. This help should be furnished to them through different ventures by the Bialopodlaska province.

On the other hand, basic party organizations in specific plants should counteract the chance of unreasonable reduction in the production of agricultural items. During the course of the meeting of the Executive Board of the KW, it was also emphasized that a propaganda campaign should be intensified among the farmers and /we/ should go out to them with broader information, while province activities aimed at better supplying agriculture in basic machines and tools are undertaken.

During yesterday's meeting the Executive Board of the KW PZPR was also informed of the current situation in agriculture in Biala Podlaska. It must be noted that the market for milk and slaughter cattle is proceeding well, but that the grain market is not sufficient. Therefore, actions that aim to stimulate this market, along with linking the sale of some goods with the delivery of grain, will still be undertaken.

During the course of the meeting, the situation in the union movement was also discussed.

#### Implementation of Socioeconomic Tasks

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDÚ in Polish 19 Jan 83 p 2

#### /Article by S.W./

/Text/ (Own Information) At yesterday's meeting the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Biala Podlaska became acquainted with the tasks from the socioeconomic plan (with the exception of agriculture) that were fulfilled in 1982.

From the materials presented, it appears that along with the difficult situation in raw materials for accomplishing production tasks in the area of the sale of goods, there was a shortage of 195 million zloty in the past year. The sale of goods, labor and services in private production and all provincial industrial units closed with the sum of 11, 954.3 million zloty. In comparison to 1981, the following sold more of their goods than according to plan: Vinegar and Mustard Plant in Parzewa (by 57.2 percent more), the Garden-Beekeeping cooperative in Biala Podlaska (by 36.1 percent), "Newness" Cooperative in Parczewa (by 30.4 percent), "Future" Cooperative in Biala Podlaska (by 28.1 percent), and "New Style" Cooperative (by 23.7 percent). On the other hand, the following could not fulfill their plans in this regard: The Bristle-Bruchmaking Cooperative in Miedzyrzec, the local plant of Zremb Construction Mechanization Works, and the Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives /WZSR/ in Biala Podlaska.

A drop in employment occurred in many Biala Podlaska industrial units, but there were also those which hired new workers, clearly exceeding the

employment plan. In general, the production yield in all of the plants rose by 4.2 percent, and the average wage turned out to be at the level of 8,006 zlotys.

The nation's economic situation prompted a variety of units to initiate production of agricultural items. Tractor-drawn harrows, cultivators, manure spreaders, grain sowing machines, coal-fired steaming plants and nails, among others, were being produced in the province.

It also appears from the information that the payments to bank accounts and the post amounted last year to 29,387.6 million zlotys and were lower by 11.4 percent than the payments made in 1981. The rural population obtained only 12,554.3 million zlotys of its income from the sale of agricultural products. Payment from the wage-fund reached the sum of 6,367.2 million zlotys, and from social services--3,868.8 million zlotys.

From among the construction units, only the Radzyn Construction Firm met its tasks from last year. The highest production yield is also recorded there. In the area of cooperative construction, 507 apartments with a combined area of usable floor space of 26.2 thousand square meters, that is, 188 more apartments were delivered than in 1981. Also, 32 apartments more than last year were restored in factory construction. The tasks in road construction were favorably executed. The plan anticipated the surface paving of 23.5 kilometers of road, but it was accomplished for a stretch of 25.8 kilometers.

During the course of yesterday's meeting, information on the market situation and commerce activity was presented. According to the information, it appears that, among others, 82.5 percent of the distribution lists for shoes was already fulfilled, 95 percent therein for domestic shoes and 70 percent of the shoes originating from imports. It was made known that beginning with 1 July of this year, the province of Biala Podlaska will cease compelling regionalization in the sale of shoes for adults.

The Executive Board of the KW also approved material for the next plenary session of the KW PZPR.

#### Farm Construction Enterprise

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA 20 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by P.I./

/Text/ (Own Information) On the day before the joint session of the Plenum of the Central Committee /CC/ of the PZPR and the Chief Committee /NK/ of the ZSL, a member of the Politburo, Albin Siwak, met with the representatives of farm construction. The host for the meeting was the Agricultural Construction Enterprise /PBRo1/ in Bielska Podlaska; while representatives of similar plants from various parts of the country were among the participants. The meeting was conducted by the first secretary of the Basic Party Organization [POP], Piotr Nikiciuk. He presented the work of the party organization in the

enterprise, while the manager, Jan Mikoluszko, discussed the problems arising from the institution of the economic reform laws in the Bielska PBRol.

Those who had gathered listened with great interest to the pronouncements of comrade A. Siwak. He discussed the current political-economic situation in the country. He devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of apartment construction, which demands vigorous action in order to shorten the waiting time for one's own "A" /apartment/. Comrade A. Siwak informed them that the Sejm is to take up this problem soon, so that through the new rightful facilitation, they can stimulate the expansion of single-family construction.

No less urgent and important is the improvement in output by our agriculture, so as not to depend on the purchase of fodder and food from capitalist countries. To this end, 30 percent of the expenditures in this year's budget is appropriated for agricultural development.

The problem connected with the new trade unions as well as with the recovery, through the PZPR, of the workers' character and a deepening of ties with all working classes was also /included/ in comrade A. Siwak's presentation. Siding with this is, among others, a large portion of workers in the highest levels of party authority. "We workers," said comrade A. Siwak, "feeling the people wronged, will not allow any kind of more painful affair."

A discussion began after comrade Albin Siwak's presentation. The representatives of rural construction took up first of all the professional and economic problems. It was ascertained that, under the conditions of the crisis, rural construction workers experienced the shortage of materials most painfully. In answer to a question, A. Siwak stated that construction for farm needs will be treated on par with urban construction.

Social problems and job security were also taken up in the course of the discussion. The representative of the Voluntary Labor Corps /OHP/ Detachment pointed out the needs of the young generation. The most common types of problems were also pointed out; e.g., interest by the Political Bureau of the CC PZPR in regard for rules for social justice in our country. Comrade A. Siwak handled the answer to this question at length and recalled the laws, recently passed by the Sejm, on the increase in annuities and pensions as well as the new normalization of pensions for farmers. New regulations on taxes, among others, should serve to even out the differences in incomes.

#### Plenum on Reports Campaign

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by S.W./

/Text/ (Own Information) The plenary session of the KW PZPR in Biala Podlaska took place last Saturday, the 22nd of this month. First secretary of the KW, Czeslaw Staszczak, presided over the meeting.

In the introduction, KW Secretary Stanislaw Now /illegible/ discussed the results of the reports campaign in the province up to now. He reported that, among others, the meetings of POP as well as the city, city-parish, parish and institutional conferences evaluated the accomplishment of the resolutions passed during the reports-election campaign and corrected them on the basis of the current needs of the party's work. They indicated at the same time that the province party, despite deficiencies in their functions, is recuperating and passing to an offensive execution of the laws included in the party's program. The discussion during the meetings and conference reports--as was emphasized--focused on economic and environmental matters. The statements of the discussants in plants mainly dealt with the institution of economic reforms improvements in the supply of raw and other materials and the organization of production, while in the countryside the statements were related to supplying agriculture with the means of production and the work of institutions servicing agriculture. On the other hand, problems of ideological-educational work, the activity of party members in social organizations, people's councils, trade unions and union administrations were too scantily analyzed.

Participants in the plenum made their remarks and observations on the plan given them in the report of the KW PZPR with activities of the period from 20 June 1981. The following took part in the discussion: Zdzislaw Migasiuk--an official of the Regional Directorate for State Railroads /DRKP/ in Malaszewicz; Miroslaw Muszynski--a retired worker from the Biawena Wool Industry Plans /ZPW/; Edward Laskowski--president of the Disabled Persons Cooperative "Elremet"; Stanislaw Jarosz--first secretary of the KMG /expansion unknown/ of the PZPR in Parczewa; Antoni Karwacki--a farmer from the parish of Lomaz; and Dominik Czarnacki--an official of the Chief Headquarters /KG/ of the PZPR in Siemien.

The plenum resolved to accept the proposal in the report, and it also approved the meeting with delegates at the province reports conference of the PZPR, to take place on the 27-28 of this month, as well as decided on its convocation on 5 July of this year.

In organizational matters, the plenum confirmed Boleslaw Slosarski--former bureau chief of the Presidium of the Province Inspection Committee--on his appointment as chief of the Provincial Center for Ideological Instruction.

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CSO: 2600/356

SUWALKI PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

State Agricultural Farm Productivity

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 5-6-7 Nov 82 p 2

Text (Own Information) At the quarterly meeting of the PZPR KW Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Suwalki, an assessment was made of the production-economic situation in enterprises of the farm economy from the viewpoint of the implementation of economic reform and the operation of the intraparty information system in party organizations and echelons.

Representatives of the PGR State Farm association as well as the directors of several PGR's took part in the deliberations. Executive Board members voiced a number of reservations regarding the contents of a report submitted by the Voivodship Office UW Department of Agriculture concerning management of PGR's. The materials submitted to the Executive Board indicate that existing difficulties are mainly the result of external conditions, for example, the shortage of the means of production and the like. The report fails to mention internal potential for improving management efficiency. It was likewise noted that the PGR association was created without consultation with the workforces of farm plants. Moreover, the autonomy of these enterprises is highly doubtful since there is no possibility for their input in selecting cadres.

During the discussion, representatives of socialized agriculture emphasized that the key to better results is not only improved management but also the guarantee that both the indispensable means of production and housing for workers will be available. We should also give consideration to the behavior of the consignees of farm products who, as a matter of fact, themselves dictate prices and conditions of purchase.

Economic reform on PGR's ought to be put into practice in daily activity; at the same time, economic plans must be synchronized with society's needs. The Executive Board has recognized the need to prepare recommendations for activities that will yield measurable benefits for farm plants. To this end, a commission has been appointed under the chairmanship of Jozef Gasowski, director of the Lega PGR. Within two weeks, this commission is to submit concrete proposals to supplement the voivodship socioeconomic developmental plan for 1983 to 1985.

During the second order of business, the Executive Board reported that the intraparty informational system has improved. However, it is indispensable that the methods of transmitting materials from echelons to particular POP's Basic Party Organizations continue to be improved, and that the expectations and moods of society be more fully recognized. All recommendations and reservations voiced by society should reach PZPR echelons without meeting obstacles along the way.

#### Defense League Activities

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 18 Nov 82 p 2

Article by (m)

Text (Own Information) At yesterday's 17 November 1982 meeting of the PZPR KW Voivodship Committee Executive Board in Suwalki, an assessment was made of the development of sports and physical education in the voivodship. A report was also presented on the activities of the LOK National Defense League in the area of the patriotic-defense education of society and in particular, young people.

The report presented by the Voivodship Office UW indicates that not all program assumptions for the development of sports and physical education have been executed. In spite of this, definite progress was made from 1976 to 1982. The number of sports divisions increased, as did the number of enthusiasts in sports clubs. The bulk of efforts and funds was concentrated on such disciplines as: canoeing, rowing, sailing and conventional skiing.

The report states that a basic factor underlying the developing of the sports being evaluated is the number and quality of the training-instructor cadre. The situation is still not the best in this sphere. Other favorable factors include the fulfillment of some program provisions. This refers particularly to guaranteeing medical care and to entering into cooperation with youth organizations, as well as to finding investment funds.

During the discussion, critical remarks were often made about the materials prepared by the UW. The charge was made that the report concentrates too much on the activity of sports officials and fails to present reality, for example, in group sports. This is even more incomprehensible given our situation in which the achievements of sporting exhibitions give no cause for rejoicing. And, as we all know, problems are increasing as physical fitness ideas spread. The report describes problems related to the base, but does not discuss the use of existing facilities. Participants in the meeting asked why difficult and sensitive subjects were avoided. If we are to be consistent in illuminating the situation in exhibition sports, the causes of the decline of two teams from the second league 1a must be explained.

Executive Board members and invited guests noted the pointlessness of having a sports federation in the voivodship that does not fulfill its functions properly in spite of its many full-time employees. This likewise applies to sports and recreation centers. Moreover, participants questioned the currency and viability of using program records that are 6 or 7 years old.

In the motions that were adopted, the Executive Board instructed party echelons to do an in-depth reassessment of the potential for the development of sports and recreation within their own areas by the end of 1982. A team is to be appointed from the PZPR KW to study thoroughly the field under discussion and to prepare specific recommendations and instructions.

During the second order of business, Executive Board members moved to accept the report of LOK activity in the area of patriotic-defense education of society. The report stressed that this activity is conducted primarily by encouraging young people to work in various types of specializing clubs. Given the importance of the tasks and role of the LOK, PZPR youth organizations and echelons should become more interested in these issues.

#### Plans for 1983-1985

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 9 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

#### Article by Jerzy Marks

Text Problems of voivodship development from 1983-1985 were the subject of a plenary meeting of the PZPR KW in Suwalki held on 8 December 1982. PZPR KW first secretary Waldemar Berdyga chaired the deliberations.

Participants included deputy director of the PZPR CC Economic Department, Waclaw Kulczyński, Voivodship Governor Kazimierz Jabłonski and KOK National Defense Committee plenipotentiary Col Kazimierz Wojtowicz. ZSL WK Voivodship Committee chairman Henryk Kucmin, SD Democratic Party WK Voivodship Committee chairman Jerzy Gryko, POP Basic Party Organization directors and secretaries from several production plants, workers of the state and economic administration and PRON Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth activists were also in attendance.

Governor Kazimierz Jabłonski presented the basic goals of the plan. Priority tasks will be to increase farm production, to meet housing needs and to improve health care. An increase in grain production is envisaged in agriculture. Cattle and hog raising should likewise increase. An important factor in housing construction will be to keep up the rate that has been attained. Most of our efforts in the health care area will be centered around the modernization and repair facilities, securing cadres and organizational activities.

PZPR KW first secretary Waldemar Berdyga presented a report giving the positions of the PZPR KW Executive Board regarding key problems of development of the Suwalski voivodship from 1983 to 1985, in the light of the Tenth CC Plenum resolution. This report included the results of the discussion held during a recent joint meeting of the KW Executive Board and the ZSL KW and SD WK Presidia, as well as consultations with KW commissions and local party echelons.

The speaker noted that the Tenth Plenum position was generally supported in discussion. Some comrades believe, however, that the most urgent task for the voivodship is to restore the economic-social functions of the market. There was also deep concern in many communities over the prospects for protecting the qualities of the national environment.

In discussing enterprise plans, we must make workforces aware that an increase in production, in its efficiency and quality, lies at the foundation of improved prospects. Comrade W. Berdyga emphasized that our natural ally in solving the problems of production and the implementation of reform should be the employee self-government.

To feed the nation is a primary goal of the plan for the next 3 years. It is likewise essential that we pay closer attention to social processes taking place in rural areas. They are out of control, with the result that over the last 7 years, more than 32,000 people left rural Suwalsky areas, and 3,000 farms have been abandoned. We believe that the voivodship plan fails to promote the active development of social conditions of farm production. The three-year plan must clearly give priority treatment to rural housing needs.

In general, the planned directions of farm production are correct. However, it is difficult to accept the projected volumes of grain production, since in reality, yields have fallen off. It is also indispensable that we counteract the widespread unwarranted opinion that farm production is unprofitable. The main problem of the village today is not money, but ensuring goods for its inhabitants.

The KW first secretary likewise discussed housing construction issues. While the scale of proposed tasks is satisfactory under present conditions, the territorial distribution and kinds of housing planned are not satisfactory. It is indispensable that we increase the share of single-family construction, particularly in rural areas.

In conclusion, comrade W. Berdyga stated that the plan's realism will be determined by its dissemination throughout all cities, gminas and plants; if it is to succeed, its tasks must be transmitted to every work-station.

Eleven speakers took the floor in the discussion, which was dominated by agricultural issues. For example, Michal Treszczynski was critical of investment outlays in this field of the economy. Moreover, he pointed out the urgency of the rational utilization of the means of production as a condition for achieving better results. He asked why 34 quintals of grain per hectare are harvested in one plant in an enterprise and less than 19 quintals are harvested at another plant in the same enterprise. This means that wise management can bring about better results. Piotr Rytwinski spoke of investments, primarily water drainage investments. Tadeusz Gasowski characterized the projected plan as expedient and unambitious, while at the same time failing to fulfill motivational functions.

Miroslaw Burba questioned the effectiveness of rural colonization as one of the elements for increasing farm production. The speaker also stressed the need to create a rural services base.

Next, Waclaw Gajdemska devoted his entire speech to health protection and environmental protection. He recognized that these issues have not been given proper treatment. The construction of sewage treatment plants in Oleck, Pisz and Goldapi, and the building of health centers in Dubenince, Stare Juchy and Swietajnia have not been taken into consideration.

Kazimierz Wojtowicz spoke of a change from the "gimme" mentality to the realization that if we want something we should get it done ourselves. We must return to the noble tradition of real social deeds. This is one of the reserves found in society itself. We can use it to build rural waterworks and roads alike.

Comrade Waclaw Kulczynski from the CC outlined the major tasks of party organizations operating within work places. They must have a share in preparing plans for the years 1983 through 1985. They must also put the economic reform into practice and prepare incentives systems, as well as taking active part in teams that analyze costs and prices. Nor should they neglect the improvement of the social/daily living conditions of workforces. The CC representative committed himself to intervention with the minister of domestic trade on the issue of market supply in the Suwaly Voivodship.

At the end of plenum deliberations, a resolution was adopted approving the stand of the KW Executive Board on the problems of voivodship development from 1983 through 1985. At the same time, WRN Voivodship People's Council advisors, party members and the voivodship governor were all given the obligation to consider this stand in preparing a final plan.

#### Trip on Reports, Program Campaign

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 29 Dec 82 p 2

#### Article by (stk)

Text (Own Information). The major topic of PZPR KW Executive Board deliberations in Suwalki was an assessment of the progress of the reports-program campaign in the Suwalki Voivodship. The deliberations, which were chaired by KW First Secretary Waldemar Berdyga, took place at a field-trip session in Elk.

Both the materials prepared beforehand and the discussion showed that the party's standing and authority have increased in particular elements in which it operates. Economic subjects dominated the discussion at meetings and conferences. Discussions of the economic situation in the voivodship in particular enterprises and among professional groups played a major role.

A positive feature of the campaign is the fact that at most meetings, an honest analysis was made of the implementation of the resolutions that had been passed and the recommendations that had been made during the reports-elections campaign. An assessment was likewise made of the political situation in party organizations. It was learned that meetings have contributed significantly to increasing the activism of party organizations. They have prepared new programs that are more suitable to the current situation. The growing importance of party echelons and organizations in political and societal life is one of the benefits of increased activism.

The current campaign has yielded a number of new assessments and proposals that are representative of party life. This requires that tasks for the future

be outlined precisely. One of our most vital tasks is to examine as soon as possible all criticism that has been leveled during the campaign. All irregularities that have been reported must be eliminated immediately.

During the second order of business, the Executive Board confirmed a work plan for the first quarter of the coming year.

#### Preparation for Reports, Program Conference

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 2

##### Article by (stk)

Text (Own Information). Important events will take place during the approaching period in the life of the Suwalski party echelon. It will soon be time for the KW plenary meeting and the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference. Yesterday's 11 January 1983 meeting of the Executive Board was devoted primarily to preparing for these two events.

The KW Plenum will be devoted to tasks of the voivodship party organization in the implementation of the PZPR CC Ninth Plenum, i.e., youth issues. A wealth of material was gathered during preparatory efforts through polls, the utilization of results from the meetings plenary of first-level echelons and meetings with youth and the leadership of youth organizations. This material has become the basis of discussion. Tasks will be worked out in detail during plenary deliberations.

The next order of business was to discuss the KW report for the coming Reports-Programs Conference. It was concluded that this report should contain above all an answer to the recommendations made at the June 1981 Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference. The report, which still awaits the consultation of various aktiv circles, will likewise include a balance-sheet of achievements of the voivodship echelon and the causes of the shortcomings of party work and the directions of future activity.

The Executive Board also deliberated on problems of the development of the educational base and confirmed recommendations on the development of sports and physical education within the voivodship.

#### Plenum on Need of Youth

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

##### Article by Jerzy Marks

Text (Own Information) The tasks of the voivodship party organization in implementing the Ninth CC Plenum resolution were the main topic of yesterday's PZPR KW plenary meeting in Suwalski. The deliberations, which were chaired by KW first secretary Waldemar Berdyga, included the participation of CC secretary Waldemar Swirgon, KOK plenipotentiary Col Kazimierz

Wojtowicz and Suwalki provincial governor Kazimierz Jablonski. CC members from the voivodship area and representatives of allied parties and youth organizations were also present.

Comrade W. Berdyga gave the preliminary report to open the discussion.

"We have wished to lend today's deliberations as broad and general a character as possible. Five issues groups were appointed in October 1982 to prepare recommendations and opinions and to gather research and survey materials. They prepared and conducted polls and held a number of meetings with young people. We have used their conclusions in the materials submitted for discussion," said Comrade W. Berdyga.

The tasks for the voivodship party organization in its work with young people after the Ninth CC Plenum were outlined in an operating schedule of tasks adopted by the KW Executive Board in August 1982. At the end of September 1982, the Executive Board assessed implementation of the schedule. During the fourth quarter, the effectiveness of party work with youth was also discussed at plenary meetings in 20 echelons.

The assessments presented show that the execution of tasks outlined in the Ninth Plenum resolution within the voivodship is not progressing well. The degree to which the matters discussed at the plenum have become generally known corresponds neither to needs nor potential. While much has been done in this area, the effectiveness and the scope of tasks is not significant. Even worse, in some communities there is a decline in interest in this subject. The speaker added that this is caused by the lack of interest in youth affairs on the part of many elements of the state and economic administration and the frequent lack of initiative and wariness of some PZPR echelons and organizations. Hence, there is a need to popularize further the subject matter of the Ninth Plenum. This is one of the fundamental tasks of POP's, ZSMP Union of Socialist Polish Youth circles and ZMW Rural Youth Union circles and scouting squads.

Comrade W. Berdyga emphasized that a major factor hampering the implementation of all tasks is today's social and economic situation. Autonomy is often lacking; people wait for specific tasks and directives handed down from above. Management groups in plants and institutions have the obligation of meeting the expectations of young people. These generally amount to creating fronts of useful work, work that is well organized and fairly paid. Party echelons and organizations must join together with the entire educational front to evaluate critically the process of bringing up children and young people. Young people must be instilled with the awareness that they are not something apart from society, that in addition to rights they also have duties before the state, the nation and the older generation. It is also necessary to integrate youth with society. This can take place through participation in the activity of PRON elements.

The KW first secretary said: "In our voivodship nearly 50 percent of the population is represented by people under the age of 35. It is this group that has the greatest needs and will decide the future of the economy, including the development of farming and construction. The question still holds: How are we to create conditions to make young rural inhabitants want to stay in the village? The waiting period for one's own apartment casts a great shadow over the sense of stability and the fulfillment of the living opportunities of youth. At the end of 1982, nearly 35,000 families were waiting for their own housing, of which 10,000 were young married couples. Meanwhile, in 1982 cooperative housing made available 1,618 apartments, of which 462 were built under a patronage system. One must commend the efforts of young people in this area. It is unfortunate, however, that there is little interest among young people in creating their own forms of cooperative construction and in producing building materials from raw materials that are available in the voivodship."

In conclusion, comrade Berdyga said: "We wish to treat more seriously the issues of the young generation and to create real conditions for improving their start in life and in work. We do not have a ready formula for this; we must work it out together."

Nine comrades took the floor in the discussion. Due to the limited time, other addresses were included in the minutes.

Leonard Sikora agreed that the postulated goals are solid, but that they must be implemented. That is where the basic problem lies. Ryszard Rakowski pointed out the tasks awaiting the ZSMP. The ZSMP will concentrate in improving social conditions and the so-called start in life of youth. Much attention will likewise be devoted to ideological-upbringing work and the freeing up of ambitions. On the other hand, Jozef Szlyk spoke of the role of the teacher and the school. At the same time he said that the duty of forming the attitudes of the younger generation does not fall upon the school alone. The school reflects society; consequently, it is often divided and splintered. The speaker confirmed the opinion of his pupils that the crisis is not the fault of the party and its ideology, but that of specific individuals. If we talk about our errors, we will commit fewer of them. Comrade Szlyk devoted part of his address to the need for educating young people through work. This is one of the conditions for bringing young people to maturity in life. Mieczyslaw Jurewicz likewise alluded to this question. Andrzej Soroka noted the values and concrete benefits accruing from social initiatives. Both men recognized that it is essential that relations between youth unions should be a partnership. Tadeusz Klaczkowski spoke of the disparity between reality and young people's perceptions and expressed desires.

Taking the floor, comrade W. Swirgon stressed that youth problems are a difficult subject including a wide range of issues to be resolved. The CC secretary said: "Our trump card is the political program of the Ninth Congress, democratic through and through, which answers the needs of the entire society and in particular the interests of the working class. The Ninth Plenum resolution and the appointment of the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs are merely the beginning of the road. Intentions and demands will be

fulfilled if they have their standard-bearers and spokesmen, who must be sought among young people themselves and their aktiv." The speaker questioned the opinion that young people are disinclined to act, and he divided their needs into three basic groups: security (occupational stability and living stability), influences (the creation of mechanisms of participation in decisionmaking) and development. He likewise pointed out the major threats to the youth movement and young people in general. These lie in the claimant attitudes inherited from Solidarity, i.e., the "it belongs to me" attitude. Another threat is the classless approach to specific issues and ideas.

The KW plenum passed a resolution containing the tasks for party echelons and organizations, the state and economic administration, institutions, and youth and social organizations in the implementation of the Ninth Plenum resolution. The recommendations made in the report and the plenary discussion added to these tasks. The KW Executive Board was enjoined to assess systematically the degreee of implementation of the particuclar duties.

In the second order of business, the draft of the report for the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference was approved. This report was comprised of remarks and observations made at recent regional meetings. The conference was set for 14 February 1983.

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POLAND

MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL CULTURE COUNCIL

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Dr Kazimierz Zygułski, minister of culture and art, by Michal Misiorny; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] [Question] We have a new statute regarding the National Culture Council and the Cultural Development Fund. The Council itself has been called together and has held its first session. At one time, in 1981, in the course of a national discussion which found its culmination in, among other things, the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress, the idea of appointing a National Culture Council was accentuated very sharply. The Council was to personify the trend toward socializing the management of culture and the institution of state patronage.

How do you assess the accomplishment of this today, and to what extent does the National Culture Council fulfill present expectations and demands?

[Answer] I believe that the statute itself of 4 May 1982 regarding the National Culture Council faithfully reflects the concept of the national discussion of 1980-1981. The Council's very broad powers and authority and at the same time the concrete nature of the tasks placed before it attest to that fact. Its association with the Cultural Development Fund indicates that under no circumstances will we be dealing with a showy or ornamental organization--we know that such misgivings are being expressed here and there....

Specific responsibilities have been placed on the Council by the legislator which pertain to the most sensitive mechanism in social practice, this being the management of public funds. Of course, the Council's tasks are much broader. /The publication of an annual report on the state of culture represents a very specific, statutory task which in addition is a very difficult one./ Let us recall how many such documents have appeared in recent years which at times were hastily drawn up, with a passion which was accompanied by a lack of discernment of reality. At times, such reports were even treated as political campaign documents and were molded accordingly.

The Council's annual report will be, I believe, a serious document addressed to the government for whom the Council fulfills consultative and advisory functions. It will also be addressed to the broad spectrum of public opinion.

/The obligation to have it published will make this report into a document which will be surrounded by discussion and the interest of very broad social spheres and which in no way can resemble the experts' reports written for internal use./ It may be presumed that in time, a collection of such reports will become a valuable source to historians of Polish culture.

[Question] In examining the membership make-up of the National Culture Council, we notice that various social communities are represented in it including some which are totally unexpected since the Council also includes, conventionally speaking, representatives of patrons [odbiorca, adresat] of cultural-artistic activity. Does the fact itself that they have been appointed to the Council signify that it is necessary today to initiate the processes of the democratization of culture for the second time, from the beginning as it were? Has the reality of the crisis era, indeed, strayed so far from the ideal?

[Answer] I feel that in appointing the Council and in assigning its tasks (among others, reducing the cultural disproportion between different regions and social spheres) the legislator acted from a realistic assessment of our situation. There is no doubt that /despite uncontested achievements in the dissemination and democratization of culture, we remain a culturally differentiated society. What's more, recent years and the crisis in at least some areas have deepened this differentiation./ Incorrigible optimists who see social development as a continually rising curve can be reminded here of the basic laws of dialectics.

Democratization and dissemination of culture is a process in which one can also observe phases of occurring setbacks, difficulties and obstacles, and that is why we must continually make efforts to overcome them and to gradually implement initiated plans and ideological goals.

This is why I believe /that the power of the Council will lie in the participation in it of the patrons and organizers of cultural life next to its creators/ who by their very nature have a tendency to see beyond all that range of problems with which they are directly involved. We have many councils in the country which unite creators, and I believe that these councils have their full justification. However, under no circumstances can they replace the National Culture Council on whose forum matters concerning our cultural heritage, the dissemination of culture, international exchange and cultural research should be recognized in equal measure to be extremely important matters of creativity....

[Question] We can care for the just distribution of cultural goods; the growth of opportunities and rights of entire communities, classes and neglected regions, but a question also arises: Can this justice be decreed? A large number of people belonging to various groups of our society pass bookstores with indifference because either they find them too expensive or they do not feel the need to go inside.

In short--what can be done by the ministry and the NRK [National Culture Council] to activate the masses of potential cultural patrons? What can and what is already being done?

[Answer] Although justice cannot be decreed, the experiences of past millenia teach us that justice is possible only there where just laws and rules exist, as well as their just execution.

In Poland, we are currently in a period of overcoming the crisis, above all, by way of a great legal reform. This reform encompasses all areas of life--from the economy to culture. A skeptic may say that a law or decree alone often remains a dead letter and this is difficult to deny. That is why we are beginning our activity with legislation but we want to convert it to everyday practice. Is this possible, and to what extent?

Naturally, this is basically a philosophical question of how close we can get to a certain ideal of just and widespread participation in culture. I believe that our own historical experiences as well as those of the world in general point to examples of how to come closer to such ideals. So as not to be accused of making unfounded statements, let us recall for a moment the scene of Polish rural culture from 50 years ago, that which has been preserved in the diaries of Polish peasants. Naturally, the cultural life of present-day rural communities also fills us with concern since we see its many inadequacies. We are trying to work them out. However, we do know that progress in the course of time of the past two generations has been great and that the problems which we are currently solving find themselves to a certain extent on a different plane.

And this is where it should be stated openly that /the cultural education of every future generation of Poles requires enormous efforts./ Nothing is pre-determined here. Each generation is threatened with various perils which are known to the poor and to the very wealthy, to primitive societies and to those which are very advanced technically. It would be a dangerous illusion to think that such problems have been solved because we have built schools and spread the use of television. Every period represents another challenge for those people who want to implement those ideals in daily life in which they themselves believe. /Today, the difficult situation in which the new generation finds itself is very strongly accentuated. We are fully aware of this and a significant part of our efforts will be directed in that very direction./

[Question] We are living in a society which distinguishes itself with a very active attitude toward the tradition of national culture. This is, I suppose, a valid opinion but only in part since this activity is very selective and overly dependent on emotional as well as esthetic factors, and despite all appearances--state factors. This is strange: workers and peasants entering the world of noblemen's and intellectuals' [szlachecko-inteligenckich] ideas and myths. Little is known about the pioneers of industrial culture, about workers' culture; not much about the political thought directions of the reformers of the Polish republic. However, probably every Pole knows how Mr Wolodyjowski [legendary figure] worked his sword. Do you feel that a large field for educational and persuasive activity is being opened here?

[Answer] I feel that this interest in cultural tradition on the part of privileged classes is to a certain extent sociologically valid. Not many people reading literary works about ancient Rome would be inclined to identify with the great numbers of slaves of that time; however, they readily accept Caesar

or Cato as their models. Art, especially mass art, follows this road as well. It portrays knights, musketeers and guardsmen but very seldom does it present peasants [panszczyzniany chlop].

In any case, in art and cultural theory, there were theses that only such privileged heroes could really be artistically interesting. Thus, today in the wide ranges of the world, we find hero-millionaires more often than hero-unemployed worker. Can this psychologically understandable trend be counteracted?

[Answer] /This is essentially one of the basic dilemmas of culture in a socialist society which, after all, needs its own heroes. It searches for its origins in the past. In my opinion, one of the important elements which could correct this problem is intellectual honesty in presenting the past--honesty which excludes such biased selectivity/ which gives exposure to the hero with the cloak and the sword.

In the first instance, what I have in mind is intellectual culture and viewing the past, especially that of one's own nation in all of its aspects, therefore, in its class, economical and technical aspects and that which is associated with this--giving exposure to the people and their achievements in these fields. In this respect, Polish history is still being presented in an extremely one-sided manner.

[Question] You are the author of a work on holiday culture, recreational culture. In this work, you refer to an institution and to examples which in part have been forgotten, and in part deformed, and sometimes discarded or ridiculed by the narrowly understood aim for "progress". However, surely we should not agree with this. Moreover, free time has increased but frequently it is empty.

Of course, it is difficult to judge whether a man living under crisis conditions wants to play and relax. On the other hand, we should probably think in future terms which go beyond the crisis conditions....

[Answer] I am deeply convinced that the institution of holidays is necessary in every period and in every culture and that the entire range of holiday tradition, although historically changeable is related to deep social needs.

However, we must carefully differentiate between a holiday which must always be associated with a true social value which we observe during a particular time and free time--the product of the industrial era. /The expansion of the sphere of free time, and this occurs even during the crisis period, modern man's conviction of his right to free time--this is in my opinion, above all, a desire to stress one's autonomy as a person. From a social point of view, however, the problem of using this time in a worthwhile manner is beginning to outline itself and even increase./ I doubt that on a mass scale this could be left up to the individual alone. Simply put, /free time is a field whose organization requires cooperation between cultural, economic, transportation and educational institutions./ I feel that in the coming years, much attention will have to be devoted to these issues since--and perhaps contrary to popular opinion--/worthwhile management of free time is not directly dependent on big investments./

[Question] Nonetheless, a proper infrastructure has to be created....

[Answer] Yes, although by also taking advantage of hidden or unexploited possibilities.

[Question] The alleged ill feelings and bad state of mind in the creative communities of artistic culture are causing strong emotions and much misunderstanding. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine some areas of cultural life without their participation both in planning and creating.

[Answer] Without a doubt, creative productivity is and will continue to be a vital driving force behind the development of cultural life. This truth cannot be questioned by anyone who wants to cultivate cultural policy. However, I believe that in our analysis of this problem its various facets ought to be distinguished. Creative productivity in its broadest sense encompasses a wide range of phenomena. For many of them, historical perspective becomes their gage.

At the same time, in speaking about creative productivity, what some people have in mind is a certain number of professional associations. The question of these associations frequently positions itself on the borderline of economic, political and in a strict sense, creative problems. Finally, there is no doubt that social crises have a particularly serious effect on people who are involved in creative work and that overcoming them is a slow process which requires time. I feel that the bad state of emotions and minds, as you called it, is the result of many factors and for that reason can only be overcome gradually.

Last of all, it is no secret that the creative communities in Poland are and, as can be presumed, will continue to be divided in their world outlook for a long time to come. These communities include representatives of various philosophical outlooks as well as, more frequently than elsewhere, people who are experiencing doubts and late conversions [pozne nawrocenia]. This should not surprise us since these are psychologically justifiable processes and at the same time, no doubt, arising from internal conflict.

/In taking into account all of these phenomena, cultural policy which aims for the creation of optimal conditions for creative development must at the same time implement primary goals, i.e., to lead to the creation of many new and valuable works in all the cultural fields./

Experience also teaches us that creative productivity is related to the turnover in generations. We will exert efforts so that this young generation of creators which--often painfully hurt by the occurrences of recent years--is currently entering our cultural scene, will have acceptably favorable starting conditions and fair evaluation regardless of the community--professional or nonprofessional; regardless of the place where this creative work originates--in the capital or in its outskirts and regardless of this or another organizational affiliation.

/I believe that in the next few years--creative work requires years rather than months--we will witness the appearance of many new names in our culture./

9853  
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TEMPORARY STATUTE OF NEW JOURNALIST UNION PUBLISHED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish Dec 82 pp 16-20

["Temporary Statute of the Journalists' Union of the Polish People's Republic"]

[Text] Section I

Name, Area of Activity, Headquarters and Nature of the union

1. The union known as the "Journalists' Union of the Polish People's Republic" [SD PRL] is a professional organization bringing together professional journalists and possessing a legal status. The nature of the union is determined by the sociopolitical status of the journalistic profession in the PPR and by the feeling of responsibility on the part of journalists performing their professional functions in the interest of the people and the socialist state.
2. The union's area of activity is the territory of the Polish People's Republic, and the headquarters of its leadership is in the capital city of Warsaw.
3. The union has the right to elect branches, units and clubs.

Section II

Goals of the Union and Mode of Operation

4. The union operates as a self-governing organization. It recognizes the leading role of the PZPR in the state and enters into relationships with state and political authorities on the basis of cooperation and mutual understanding.

The union considers itself the heir of the long-standing traditions of the Union of Polish Journalists, and will make use of the positive experiences and achievements of this organization insofar as they are in keeping with statutory goals.

5. The purpose of the union is:

- a) to bring together professional journalists and press specialists in an organization that--guided by concern for the welfare of the people--collaborates

in the building of the socialist system and in the comprehensive development of the Polish People's Republic, particularly through:

--activity in furtherance of national understanding and the development of socialist democracy;  
--joint creation of a political culture based on Poland's raison d'etat, the authority and competent work of socialist state administrators, and civil self-government;  
--joint creation of a social communication system that will effectively strengthen the ties between the authorities and society;  
--joint creation of a civil work ethic and social discipline;  
--protection of constitutional freedom of speech;  
--protection of the professional dignity of journalists and concern for the social credibility of the profession;

b) to make sure that the communications media provide citizens with a full range of accurate information; to ensure that journalists have access to all information except classified secrets; and to safeguard the right to express different opinions, including the right of criticism via the press, radio, television and cinema;

c) to collaborate in the formulation of legal instruments and decisions connected with journalism and the functioning of the mass media;

d) to uphold the ideological, moral and professional qualifications of journalists;

e) to defend the journalistic profession and maintain its code of ethics;

f) to arrange for various forms of legal and organizational assistance;

g) to support research on the journalistic profession and the social communication system;

h) to support the development of journalistic education and improve the skills of professional journalists;

i) to represent and protect the professional, material and moral interests of all journalists;

j) to collaborate with other associations and unions in matters connected with the professional and material interests of all journalists.

6. The union accomplishes its tasks through:

1a) the activity of branches, regional and editorial units, and delegates;

b) the activity of clubs and the Journalism Center;

c) provision of legal assistance to union members in lawsuits arising from performance of their work, particularly from their use of the right of criticism;

d) social service activity in behalf of retired and pensioned journalists, professional journalists working on a freelance basis, sick journalists, and the wives and orphans of journalists (medical care, sanatoriums, vacations, grants, etc);

e) support for young journalists and assistance to journalism schools;

f) publishing activity.

2) Collaboration with political organizations, state authorities, scientific, cultural, technical and economic institutions, etc, on the basis of partnership, especially to disseminate the traditions of the Polish people and to ensure the development of socialist culture and freedom and expression.

3a) activity directed toward meeting the everyday needs of journalists, representation of journalists in establishing their work conditions, and protection of their professional interests;

b) conclusion of collective agreements and constant monitoring of their fulfillment;

c) participation in drawing up codes connected with the journalistic profession;

d) taking a position on dismissals of journalists;

e) making effective efforts to ensure that journalists gain the rights won by members of other unions;

f) making efforts to obtain for journalists financial aid from the state and from professional associations;

g) organization of union self-help programs (including the Social Fund, the Life Insurance Fund and the Loan Office).

4) Collaboration with foreign journalistic organizations; representation of Polish journalists in the international forum; organization and support of international exchange in the professional and cultural field and at resort centers.

5) Close collaboration with professional associations in order to meet the everyday needs of journalists, and protection of their occupational interests.

6) Proposing candidates for honors and awards.

7) Awarding union scholarships.

### Section III

#### Members of the Union

7. a) Those eligible for membership in the union are: professional journalists or press specialists with high ideological and moral values, Polish citizens who have earned their primary income for at least two years from full-time journalistic work in the press, press agencies, radio, television, and film documentaries, or from full-time research and teaching activities in journalism schools and suitable educational institutions;

b) Retirees and pensioners who were previously members of the SDP [Union of Polish Journalists] are also eligible for membership in the union. They are admitted into the union in accordance with paragraph 8;

c) Decisions on the membership and organizational experience of freelance journalists and those working as journalists or press specialists apart from their regular profession will be made by the First Congress of the SD PRL<sup>1</sup>;

8. The application of a journalist for membership in the SD PRL is examined by the Temporary Board of the Branch (plenipotentiary), which presents its decision, if it is favorable, to the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee. If the application is rejected, the Temporary Board of the Branch [TZ0] informs the applicant, who has the right to appeal to the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee within 14 days. The decisions of the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee can be annulled within 14 days by the Temporary Executive Board on its own initiative or at the suggestion of the TZ0, the editorial unit, the local unit, or the delegate from the editorial board.<sup>2</sup>

9. 1) Members of the Union:

a) have the right and the obligation to take part in the union's activities, and are obliged to observe the provisions of this Statute and the Journalists' Code of Ethics and to comply with the decisions of the union's leadership;

b) can avail themselves of all the rights to which they are entitled as union members, on the terms stipulated by the relevant regulations;

c) are obliged to pay on time their membership dues and other fees set by the Temporary Executive Board.

2) All members are vested with the active and passive right to vote.

10. Membership in the union ceases in the case of:

a) death;

b) an announcement by a member that he is leaving the union;

c) a legally valid decision by the Temporary Journalists' Court;

d) permanent relinquishment of journalistic work; this point does not affect union members who:

--are elected as delegates or appointed to a public office or periodically to a political or social position;  
--have more than 20 years' experience in journalism;  
--go into retirement or begin receiving a pension.

e) nonpayment of dues and other fees for a period longer than six months.

Decisions on the loss of membership rights for the reasons outlined in points c) and d) will be made by the Temporary Executive Board at the suggestion of the Temporary Board of the Branch. Restoration of membership rights in the SD PRL should be preceded by payment of all outstanding dues. Exemption from this is granted only in exceptionally warranted cases.

11. Journalists who have signed the application for registration of the SD PRL become its members and members of the Founding Committee the moment the union is registered.

#### Section IV

##### Leadership of the Union

12. Until the beginning of the Congress of the Journalists' Union of the Polish People's Republic (SD PRL) and the election of its presidium, the highest body of the union is the Founding Committee, which:

- a) appoints and recalls the union's 15-member Temporary Executive Board;
- b) appoints the Temporary Committees: the Main Review Committee and the Intervention Committee, each consisting of five members;
- c) appoints the 11-member Temporary Journalists' Court;
- d) decides in all matters not reserved for the other leadership organs of the union;
- e) supervises the activity of the Temporary Executive Board [TZG] and of the other leadership organs and cells of the union;
- f) sets the date of the First Union Congress.

Meetings of the Founding Committee are convened on the initiative of the TZG or at the suggestion of at least one-third of its members.

13. Decisions of the Founding Committee and of the other leadership organs and cells of the union are made by simple majority vote (50 percent plus 1).

14. The Founding Committee can decide by secret ballot to increase its original membership by up to one-third. New members of the Committee must be elected from among the membership of the union.

15. The Temporary Executive Board elects from among its membership at the first meeting the union chairman, the three vice-chairmen and the general secretary. The chairman is the union's public representative. He has the right to authorize a member of a leadership organ to represent the union in his stead in a specific matter. The chairman or one of the vice-chairmen presides over the sessions of the Founding Committee and over the constitutional assemblies of the union's executive leadership.

16. The TZG has the following tasks:

- a) executing the union's statutory tasks;
- b) preparing the First (Founding) Congress of the SD PRL and submitting a draft of the Statute;
- c) appointing Branches, conducting elections for the Temporary Boards of Branches, analyzing their activity and rendering assistance to them;
- d) appointing and supervising the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee and the Temporary Main Social Committee, and supervising the Temporary Intervention Committee;
- e) appointing the secretaries and the treasures of the TZG, who participate in the work of the TZG in an advisory role, and appointing the disciplinary officer and his deputies;
- g) implementing the union's budgets, managing finances, concluding contracts and setting the amount of membership dues and other fees;
- h) admitting and expelling Union members in accordance with the provisions of Section III;
- i) defining the principles of collaboration with retired and pensioned journalists, and determining the possibility of having older journalists work in the SD PRL;
- j) appointing and supervising journalists' clubs;
- k) representing the union at home and abroad.

17. The Temporary Executive Board appoints working groups as the need arises.

18. In order for the decisions of the TZG to be valid, the presence of at least nine of its members is mandatory.

19. The chairmen of the Temporary Committees (Qualifications, Intervention, Social, and Review Committees) and the chairman of the Temporary Journalists' Court participate in an advisory role in the meetings of the TZG.

20. The special work procedures, tasks and powers of the Temporary Intervention Committee and the Temporary Journalists' Court will be defined by its bylaws

ratified by the Founding Committee. The bylaws of the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee, the Temporary Main Social Committee and the Disciplinary Officer are ratified by the TZG.

21. a) The Temporary Journalists' Court [TSD] is divided into a superior and a lower court; its headquarters is in Warsaw; its jurisdiction covers the entire country;
- b) The TSD elects a chairman and a secretary from among its membership;
- c) The lower court of the TSD consists of three judges; the superior court of five judges;
- d) A ruling by the lower court of the TSD can be appealed within 14 days after the ruling is handed down;
- e) The TSD adjudicates on the basis of the DKO [expansion unknown] regulations, using the Statute of the SD PRL and the bylaws of the Journalists' Court and of the Disciplinary Officer.

22. The task of the Temporary Intervention Committee is to intervene and mediate in disputes arising between a journalist and a publisher (the manager of a Radio-Television Center) or an editor-in-chief in the course of their work. The Committee is to intervene in cases where a journalist is hindered in obtaining information.

23. The Temporary Board of a Branch [TZ0] of the SD PRL is elected by at least 30 journalists--union members working in the branch's area of activity. Until the election of the Board, its functions are performed by a representative appointed by the Temporary Executive Board.

The Temporary Board of a Branch is composed of three to seven members. In its area of activity it carries out the statutory tasks of the union and other tasks arising from the statute of the SD PRL, except for those reserved for the national leadership of the union. The TZ0 can appoint the Branch Qualifications Committee and other committees and groups as its working organs.

## Section V

### Units of the SD PRL

24. 1) In editorial boards or institutions employing more than 10 union members, an SD PRL unit is appointed. The unit elects a 3-member board whose chairman is the editorial delegate.
- 2) If necessary, an intereditorial local unit can be appointed. It should consist of at least 10 union members.
- 3) If more than one SD PRL unit is appointed in an institution or a locality that is not the headquarters of a Branch, their chairmen assign to one of the members the task of representing and coordinating the work of the units.

4) In editorial boards or institutions employing fewer than 10 union members, an editorial delegate is elected.

5) The special work procedures, tasks and powers of the units and delegates will be defined by the regulations issued by the TZG.

## Section VI

### Creative Clubs

25. The activity of clubs is the union's basic means of accomplishing tasks arising from the creative nature of the organization. The tasks of the clubs is to foster various kinds of journalistic activity, to create suitable conditions for enhancing members' knowledge of the field of journalism through exchange of professional experiences, and to organize panel discussions, workshops, conferences, symposiums, local and foreign trips, etc. The clubs constitute a forum for the exchange of opinion between journalists and representatives of various spheres of public life.

The activity of creative clubs is defined by the guidelines established by the TZG, and their work is coordinated by the Club Council made up of their chairmen.

## Section VII

### Temporary Review Committees

26. The Temporary Review Committee elects a chairman and a secretary.

27. The Temporary Executive Review Committee [TGKR] has the task of:

a) monitoring the entire financial and economic activity of the SD PRL, particularly that of the TZG;

b) presenting its conclusions at the First Congress of the SD PRL regarding acceptance (or nonacceptance) of the TZG's financial report.

28. The TGKR submits its comments and conclusions to the TZG and the First Congress of Delegates.

29. In the branches of the union, the Review Committee has three members, and is elected together with the Temporary Board of the Branch. It performs the same functions as the TGKR. If it discovers irregularities in the financial activities of the Temporary Branch, it immediately informs the TGKR and the TZG.

## Section VIII

### The Journalists' Code of Ethics

30. The Code of Ethics binding on all union members is the Journalists' Code of Ethics formerly binding in the Union of Polish Journalists (the 1980 version, except for paragraph 19, which is binding in its form from the 1978 version).

## Section IX

### Union Moneys

31. 1) The moneys of the union come from:
  - a) registration fees;
  - b) dues and other special membership payments;
  - c) grants and subventions;
  - d) gifts, other endowments, etc;
  - e) shows put on by the union;
  - f) surpluses obtained from publishing houses, etc;
  - g) surpluses from the use and sale of movable property and real estate.
- 2) The union spends moneys on the basis of budgets ratified by the Temporary Executive Board.
- 3) The revenues of the union are used entirely for purposes of general statutory activity and for assistance to union members as stipulated in the Statute.
- 4) All legal instruments financially binding on the union, as well as checks, money orders, etc, are signed in the Temporary Executive Board by the chairman and the vice-chairman or by the secretary and the treasurer; in the Temporary Board of a Branch, by the chairman or by the vice-chairman and the treasurer of the Branch. The acquisition or sale of real estate requires the consent of the Temporary Executive Board.

## Section X

### Transitional Bylaws

32. The present Statute is of a temporary nature. The Statute of the SD PRL will be enacted at the First (Founding) Congress of the union, on the basis of the aforementioned goals of the union, its nature and its mode of operation.
33. A decision to amend the Temporary Statute or to dissolve the union can be made by the Founding Committee with the participation of the members of the Temporary Executive Board and the Temporary Boards of the Branches by a two-thirds majority vote; at least one-half of the members of the Committee and the Boards must participate in this vote.

If a decision is made to dissolve the union, a Liquidation Committee is elected, which in accordance with enacted guidelines collaborates with the registration board. A decision to transfer property, in order to be valid, must be ratified by the registration board. The decision to dissolve the union also defines the purpose for which its property is to be used.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Founding Committee at the second session held on 20 September 1982 voted to amend paragraph 7, letter "c" as follows: "Freelance journalists, as well as individuals working as journalists or press specialists apart from their regular profession, may apply for membership in the SD PRL. In both cases, the applicants should have at least two years' experience in journalism-related work. In the case of freelance journalism, the factor weighing most heavily in the decision to allow membership in the SD PRL will be the evaluation of the applicant's professional credentials made by the Branch Qualifications Committee and the Main Qualifications Committee."
2. The Founding Committee at the second session held on 20 September 1982 voted to amend paragraph 8 as follows: "The application of a journalist for membership in the SD PRL is examined by the appropriate Temporary Board of the Branch (plenipotentiary). Lists of individuals applying for membership in the SD PRL will be successively published in the journal PRASA POLSKA with a proviso on the possibility of objecting to an application for membership in the SD PRL. If no objections are received within 14 days after the date of publication, this will be the basis for the final decision of the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee. If an application is rejected, the TZO conveys this information to the applicant, who has the right to appeal to the Temporary Main Qualifications Committee within 14 days. The decisions of the Temporary Qualifications Committee can be annulled with 14 days by the Temporary Executive Board acting on its own initiative, on the initiative of the applicant, or at the suggestion of the TZO, the editorial unit, the regional unit, or the editorial delegate."

12277  
CSO: 2600/289

COMMUNIST STUDENT MEETING CONCLUDES

AU121957 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 12 Feb 83

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Feb (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the Thirteenth Conference of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania [UCSAR] concluded in Bucharest on 12 February.

For two days the representatives of the over 125,000 members of the union in the 19 university centres throughout the country debated questions related to the continuous improvement of the professional training of the studying youth in Romania, the ever closer link between education and production, the enhancement of the contribution of the future experts in various domains to the attainment of the targets set by the Twelfth Congress and the National Conference of the RCP. They expressed the gratitude of all the students--Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities--for the constant concern of the party leadership, of the RCP general secretary and the country's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, for the modernization of the Romanian higher education, for the assertion of a new quality in the field of the multilateral training of the young generation.

The conference unanimously approved of the report and the activity of the UCSAR Council, as well as of the report and activity of the Auditing Commission. At the same time, the resolution on the conference was unanimously adopted.

The students' forum elected by secret ballot the Council and the Auditing Commission of the UCSAR. In the first plenary meeting of the Council, the Executive Committee and the Bureau of the Executive Committee were elected.

Tudor Mohora, secretary of the CC of the UCY, was reelected chairman of the Council of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania.

At the end of the proceedings, on behalf of all the students, the conference sent a letter to the RCP general secretary and president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

CSO: 2020/18

REPUTED CONFLICT BETWEEN LCY, INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED

Overview of Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1671, 9 Jan 83  
pp 19-20

[Article by Slobodanka Ast: "The Party and the Intellectuals Today"]

[Text] Why is the fabricated thesis of a conflict between the party and the intellectuals being launched? Are short circuits an inevitability? How is one to explain the fact that there are fewer scientists, writers, artists and university professors in the ranks of the party?

"Pigeon Pit," "The Karamazovs," the import of intellectuals, the growing circulation of "petition literature," the language debate, and the search for "black spots" in the history of the CP....

For months now the individual "cases" have concentrated the entire attention of the cultural, scientific, political and indeed even the most general public. As someone noted in the debate about the freedom of creativity organized recently by the Belgrade City Committee of the LC [League of Communists]: "For months the public has been concerned with certain issues imposed upon it."

A Fabricated Thesis

It seems as if that "awkward" cliche-issue of the relationship between the party and the intellectuals, which is usually regarded through the prism of eruptive situations, is becoming topical once again.

Even certain high-level political officials have recently found it necessary in speaking about the entirety of events in society to comment on relations between the LC and the intellectuals. At the Third Meeting of the LCY Central Committee there were even polemical sparks over this issue, and in a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee Dusan Ckrebic stressed that there is absolutely no dispute whatsoever between the LC and the intellectuals. According to him, this is a fabricated thesis which in the past year has been stubbornly thrust upon the public. Even Jose Smole recently spoke about this topic ("One gets the impression that the LC is constantly in conflict with a portion of the intelligentsia, as though the party has something against intellectuals").

Short circuits between the party and the intellectuals are actually an inevitability--refusal to accept the status quo, reassessment, lies at the heart of intellectual commitment.

Certainly it is not easy to answer the question of what sort of relationship there is today between the party and the intellectuals--first of all because it is not simple even to define the term "intellectuals or intelligentsia." If we mean by this term all those who perform predominantly mental work, then there are no major problems with this segment of the LC membership, which runs to 2 million. But if by the intelligentsia we mean only the smaller creative part of those who are educated--then the situation is considerably different.

There are fewer scientists, writers, artists, university professors, the creative intelligentsia, in the ranks of the party and still more in active party life. "It is significant to take note that there are numerically few creators of spiritual values in the party, and their influence is still less," concludes Vladimir Milic, who has analyzed the class and social composition of the Serbian LC. Is the party being "sectarian" toward intellectuals?

For many people it was a welcome precedent when the architect Bogdan Bogdanic came on to the political scene....

In this time of profound world, but also our own, crises the time is right for dialogue and for democratic discussion. Nevertheless, within the party there are fewer intellectual confrontations of the most creative and best educated portion of the membership, and more administrative campaigns and crash efforts.

It is well known that one cannot speak about a conflict between the LC and the intellectuals, but it is quite certain that a considerable number of communist intellectuals are remaining silent, that a large intellectual potential has been put on ice. Never has the socioeconomic situation been more difficult, and never has there been less activity, someone said recently in the Serbian Center for Marxism during discussion of commitment within the LC.

Documented assertions were also made at that meeting about the smaller and smaller core of activists. Is it not perhaps a question of dissatisfaction with the manner and pace with which certain fundamental commitments are being carried out? It seems that the activity of approving the general line does not have a sufficient mobilizing impact even for the average member, much less the most creative portion of the party.

Is the party exhausting itself excessively in the showdown with the "enemy and oppositionist forces," and failing to respond to the challenges of a contradictory time? Are some of the intellectuals also withdrawing because of the frequent and excessively general criticism? Has the party been far more critical toward people of a restless spirit, toward truly committed Marxists, than toward "intellectuals who are yes-men"? Finally, documented criticism of certain intellectual circles has too frequently been met with an ideological label rather than with counterarguments.

## Apologetic Sirens

We have reached that dangerous point where almost all communication has broken off between politics and certain sciences, even the social sciences.

A segment of science, however, has succumbed to the charms of the apologetic sirens to the detriment of both science and the party, says Dr Vladimir Goati. To be sure, this is not anything peculiar to us: "useful" and "functional" intellectuals, specialists in day-to-day political analysis, repeaters of "essential intonations" have always been more common than those others.

And thus instead of a truth-seeking analysis of our society we have apologetics or a flight into abstract or historical topics. It is paradoxical, but at the moment there are more foreigners taking doctorates in self-management than our own post graduate students. This is only a bizarre little fragment of the traditional mosaic of our science. What is stimulating this scientific conformism? Dr Goati thinks that in the period behind us social compensations, both material and symbolic, have favored people who do not have the courage to tackle reality, taking the risk, of course, of making a mistake.

Recently, economists and political scientists have been criticized with particular ferocity. In economics there have been polemical accents to some extent, but it seems that the sphere of the political system is still a taboo topic. The political scientists say that officials are oversensitive in their reaction.

Dr Balsa Spadijer, professor, sees the main problem in the inroads of bureaucratic subjectivism. Certain conceptions also arise out of the social and material status of science. Science ought to raise itself from a petitioner for funds to a self-management activity which has found its true place in society through social councils (like the Krajger Commission).

Spadijer links the question of the commitment of the intellectuals to an act of personal bravery ("We cannot all agree, but we cannot work out a unified stand without debate"), while Dr Rajko Tomovic, professor, relates it to the possibility of expressing one's own views, but also the possibility of having a real impact on decisionmaking.

"Our decisionmaking tends in general to be through forums, so that the entire base has become passive, not just the intellectuals. The rank and file have actually had no impact whatsoever on the most important and fateful decisions," says Dr Rajko Tomovic, professor.

We are in last place in Europe in the number of inventions. To what extent is science to blame for that situation? We conclude from his words that creativity is a collective act, but that under the conditions of undeveloped self-management relations, in which various power centers are dominant and mediocrity and bureaucratic orientation hold sway, creativity actually has no great chance.

## Dangerous Limits

Some of the misunderstandings and "difficulties" with the intellectuals have more and more frequently been the result of various esthetic--and not only esthetic--criteria in certain of our milieux and cultural centers.

The trouble, of course, does not lie in differences if the differences are the result of differing esthetic judgments and evaluations, but in certain manipulations of those differences, says Dr Vasa Milincevic, professor. We have to agree with his opinion that differing criteria can also be seen as welcome safety valves for preventing people from withdrawing into their own shell, into arbitration without appeal. But underneath the differing criteria one often finds differing layers of sediment. "Courage" [means] delivering a lecture against things happening in another center which one passes over in silence at home, says Professor Milincevic, remarking that, of course, this may also be a way of fighting one's own battle on someone else's terrain.

We talked about the dangerous regional limits with Dr Sreten Petrovic, professor at Belgrade University and chairman of the Commission for Ideological Work of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

As he sees it, what has been happening in the political and economic sphere has by the logic of things been reflected in the superstructure as well: divisions within science, divisions among writers, academies and universities.

In the opinion of Dr Sreten Petrovic we have not opened up room for constructive debate of certain outstanding issues, what is referred to as "political catharsis" of the membership of the party has not occurred, so that what is now happening in the cultural sphere concerning "Pigeon Pit" is actually a continuation of economic and political disputes. The troubles "with and concerning Krleza" have the same purport. This is an endeavor of intellectuals to use a "literary metaphor" and the language of criticism in the arts to settle accounts with real problems.

And here are the rules of the game: What supposedly you cannot say about Krleza in Zagreb you can in Belgrade; "refugee" intellectuals from one community are met with "open arms" by another community; what you cannot publish in one region because of "sensitivity" encounters approval and applause in another region.

"Some intellectuals seem not to have become aware of this background of significance," Dr Sreten Petrovic says. In the opinion of this informant who spoke to NIN, the most dangerous thing is for intellectuals to look unconcernedly at events in other places, taking advantage of the comforts of regional limits and blinded by the honors they have been accorded there and to wait for a wink from political officials in their own districts before resuming with "cultural means" the showdowns and subversion that has been begun.

"In the past intellectuals fought against the bureaucratic-statist conception of freedom on the Yugoslav scene. Today, however, we have a paradoxical situation: We seem to have greater freedom, but in a politically and regionally

narrower framework. We seem to be successful only insofar as we speak critically in our own community about that 'other one,'" Professor Petrovic feels.

In his opinion the worst thing is when this intellectual conformity, which in our case is of the small-town and regional type, takes the place of a penetration of creative thought in the spirit of Marxist criticism; "the party at the level of Yugoslavia must realize the deeper meaning of what is happening today in culture."

It is obvious that in this time of serious social crisis the LC must to a still greater degree win over the most creative nuclei in culture, science and creativity in general and must encourage and stimulate a true dialogue.

#### Interview With Zivadinovic

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1671, 9 Jan 83  
pp 20-21

[Interview with Petar Zivadinovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, by Slobodanka Ast: "Concerning Dialogue and Silence"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We spoke with Petar Zivadinovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, about the increasingly frequent "short circuits" and the thesis that the LC is often in conflict with a segment of the intelligentsia.

[Answer] I would not say that there is any conflict at all. It is certain, however, that there are misunderstandings from time to time. It is a fact that intellectuals who at one time were in the party and close to the party did as a practical matter have greater political influence than is the case today, but this should be taken as a change for the better, since this is one element of democratization. Today there are many more dialogues both within the party and outside the party than was ever the case before. I think that is also why at times there are more disagreements, since differing opinions are confronting each other openly and in public, and this gives the appearance of a greater intensity of confrontation. It is another matter that some intellectuals in the communist movement and outside it lay claim to some kind of "Messianic role." Such intellectuals have to rid themselves of prejudices concerning their own privileged position.

[Question] However, it seems that there actually are no real ideological confrontations, as though nothing serious is even happening in the ideological sphere.

[Answer] Some of the intellectuals are silent because they have a nice comfortable place. They have salaries, positions, they are publishing books, and they don't want to become involved in an open dialogue because they would like at one and the same time to please both the party and those who want socialism about as much as they want last year's snow. That is why there is no dialogue. (If I were to begin to engage in polemics, it would immediately be assumed that

I have the strength of a forum behind me.) And this sidestepping by a number of our Marxists to avoid confronting the key problems in the ideological sphere resembles bourgeois behavior; I would even say that it is immoral.

#### "Lazy Marxists"

[Question] Perhaps they are waiting for a directive "from above"? Is the LC raising the right issues and in the right way? Are our "finances and the dollar stronger at this point than ideas," as Professor Ivo Fabinc has said?

[Answer] The League of Communists cannot divest itself of responsibility if it does not take initiative. But one need not necessarily wait for the "order" of the party to participate in discussions. One should participate because of his own consciousness as a scientist whenever this is made imperative by our most profound Marxist convictions and not because one should be on the party line at all costs. After all, in the final analysis the truth is always in the interest of socialism. I am not in favor of intellectuals being party defenders in day-to-day politics, nor of the LC so conceiving the role of intellectuals. However, for a number of our "lazy Marxists" this situation is an alibi to stand aloof from debate with the various antisocialist forces in those forms of bourgeois reaction to which we are not reacting fundamentally or systematically enough (except in the case of nationalism, and that in its most pronounced forms). But to answer the second part of the question directly: Without ideas even our finances will not be strong.

[Question] The social sciences are silent. Has certain research been discouraged or even discredited in political terms?

[Answer] It cannot be said that the responsibility here lies above all on the party. I know the objective difficulties and contradictions of such research, which at times might probably even be unpleasant in certain of its results. But our social scientists have become conformists. They more than others because perhaps someone expects them to say what someone would like to hear, not what exists in reality. And that well-known conformity which makes it possible for them to live comfortably is causing harm to the party, but also to science.

#### Apocalypse Now

[Question] Perhaps some people have fled to conformism because we do not have an advanced democratic tradition; reactions are often immoderate.

[Answer] The lack of an advanced sophistication about dialogue characterizes all participants in our public discussions. Occasional exclusiveness and intolerance are not only a mark of politicians, but also of men of letters, scientists.... Although I do not actually think that this is any lasting, predominant and inevitable feature of our cultural situation.... The conflicts that exist in culture, on the public scene, should not always be merely politicized, nor should some sort of political background always be seen in them.

[Question] Yet there is a veritable shower of political disqualifications: liberal, oppositionist, enemy....

[Answer] Or, from the other side: supporter of the regime, a soul that has been sold, Stalinist.... Nevertheless, I would emphasize that we have a very widespread Manichaean outlook in our social criticism, and that on both sides. This Manichaean outlook has in part been inherited, but in part we are also producing it ourselves. At the same time, now that the situation is extremely complicated (both the economic and the political situation), we are witnesses to the emergence of the so-called apocalypticists, the "end-of-the-world people." The collapse of the system is being predicted mainly by those who have not done anything for its cohesion even when times were calmer. Nor are they doing anything now, but coming forth with frightening forecasts. When any such group emerges, when it is aggressive, when it has access to the public media, then objectively this signifies calling for a "savior." Regardless of certain contradictions and things which are not clear, the "saviors" can only be bureaucratic socialism or some type of bourgeois restoration. There is no third.

[Question] To what extent can these apocalypticists influence the public?

[Answer] They can have a disorienting effect if the idea is unceasingly created that all the responsible factors are incapable of solving the problems we face. A portion of our intellectuals, that portion which played an important political role in the past, have a certain obsessive tie to politics. I would not at this point reduce their spleen and unsparing criticism solely to the fact that they are no longer playing that role, but I think that this should be known. At the same time we should know that some of the fiercest critics of our party derived their principal political experience from that phase of our development which is referred to as administrative socialism. It is not good, not good at all, for us to sharpen our criticism of others and to see all the evil in them, and this has been especially obsessive with respect to politicians and political forums, and yet never to suppose that the sources of the troubles lie at least to some small extent in ourselves.

[Question] Even when the party raises some of the right issues, it does not seem to have the right answers. Take the recent discussion in the Belgrade City Committee about the freedom of creativity....

[Answer] We are reflecting about a problem: How many able and talented people in all fields of our spiritual life have been prevented from developing? Not under the pressure of the party and I do not know what forums. What is the role of clans? To what extent are nepotism and various privileges dominant in culture? The public knows little about this, and if intellectuals want to play the role of some kind of conscience, they must begin to speak openly about these matters as well. I would not like to be too concrete, but let everyone who has a job in culture objectively examine the state of affairs and see to what extent the able and talented people have been displaced--by "forces" within the microcommunity, and not by external "bureaucratic pressures."

[Question] It seems that the discussions which perhaps might give an answer to these questions come down to ritual monologues which do not change anything.

[Answer] There is a certain awkwardness felt by some of the people in culture, especially in situations when the party is creating the conditions for a dialogue. Then they can no longer wear themselves out with lamentations and hide behind the formula of a conflict between the party and the intellectuals, but they must turn toward the contradictions within their own sphere, for which the party is not directly responsible, nor is it able on its own to resolve them.

#### The Intelligent and the Obedient

[Question] Some well-known scientists and distinguished sociopolitical figures say that even today it is a deep-rooted opinion in the party apparatus that we do not need the intelligent people, but the obedient ones....

[Answer] I think that blanket assessments of that kind are not accurate. That might be someone's opinion, but that is not the position of the party. The Marxist and communist movements have never renounced science; what is more, at times they have so overemphasized the importance of science that in certain phases this was not a good thing either. A still worse extreme is for the importance of science to be so minimized that it is for all practical purposes absent in certain key moments of our development. Now, however, I would say that we have a reaffirmation of science and of scientific work through the Krajcer Commission, which has brought together a very large number of scientists from all fields. I think this is the right way for us to find a sober solution for a way out of the present situation and it stands as proof that our party and our society are in very great need of intelligent people.

[Question] Nevertheless, there is talk about a strong anti-intellectual current?

[Answer] That is not something happening within the party, but in society at large.... Much more in society at large. A certain anti-intellectual current is present in our society, an authoritarian mentality which to a large extent we have inherited, but in good measure we have also "improved upon," retained and intensified. This is evident from the way knowledge is treated in the newspapers, science and technology to be specific. Every day great things are happening, there are important scientific discoveries, but when one watches television and reads the newspaper, one has the impression that the great things are happening in all other areas, only not here.

Probably this anti-intellectual current is also a consequence of the unfavorable position of our entire educational system, but also of sectarianism and the abuse of so-called moral and political fitness. I think that we must rally the intellectuals to a far greater degree, since it is in both the current and long-term interest of the party to rally all intelligent, honorable and socialist-oriented intellectuals around itself and its program. The party has sufficient strength and determination for that type of openness and also good moral and spiritual capital gained during its history up to now. It is up to us to creatively develop those achievements here and now.

POTENTIALITIES OF SLOVENE NATIONALISM ASSESSED

Overview of Situation

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1671, 9 Jan 83  
pp 16-18

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive"]

[Text] We will not improve relations among the nationalities by saying they are better than they are. But the most certain way of making relations among the nationalities worse is to talk about how they are worse than they are!

That is why our story begins with an event of this past week in a secondary school in Ljubljana which, like every decent school, has powerful loudspeaker equipment. During recess it is used mainly for broadcasting punk rock and school news prepared by the students. The affair began when a student, a Slovene who was one of the editors of the program, out of the blue read the announcement and news in Serbo-Croatian. His friends say that he wanted to see the "reaction of the school administration to the use of one of the equal languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities."

As soon as the broadcast was over, the woman teacher who was responsible for the broadcasting summoned him and put this question in the ordinary way, in Slovenian:

"What are you?"

"I am a Slovene," the student answered, but his answer was in Serbo-Croatian.

His act was discussed in the youth organization, and there were some among the older people who thought that he should be expelled from school. However, the "announcer" was not punished, since he "had even earlier shown signs of rebelliousness and a headstrong attitude." With this possible "unitaristic orientation" of a high school student in mind, we will use an assessment of Silva Mezneric, Ljubljana sociologist, for a sociological definition of his act; he tells us that what was probably involved here was "an intuitive resistance to something which that student denoted as conservative in the entire system."

Two weeks ago a letter was published in the Zagreb weekly DANAS from an anonymous reader ("The Information Is Known to the Editors"), who is obviously employed temporarily in Ljubljana. He says that--"certain 'leading' people here in SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia have become true national heroes by distancing themselves from the spirit of community." He then writes that he is amazed how in a milieu where members of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities are now living--"one nationality is spoken about (by and large) in the superlative, and all the others (by and large) as people who create problems, who do not have proper work habits, and a host of other 'fantastic' characteristics on the basis of which the 'host' is supposed to conclude: We would after all live better if we were alone."

And in the last issue of the newspaper DANAS a reader who is a Slovene commented on the information published concerning trips abroad and the "ethnic origin of a smuggler." In concluding his letter he asked:

"Who sold the thousands and thousands of kilograms of coffee, and that quite publicly under the nose of the market inspectors and security personnel at open-air markets in Belgrade, Nis, Skoplje, Sarajevo, Kragujevac and many other places? Surely not Slovenes?"

Nationalism and the nationalistic aspect has been discussed in the past month at several scholarly meetings as well as in some dozen interviews. There have been differing assessments, including a warning that criticism of nationalism which goes no further than mere enumeration and condemnation of incidents only strengthens the position of the other side. Just before New Year's Franc Setinc, president of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, said:

"We must create an atmosphere of true brotherhood and unity as a real fact, not as rhetoric, above all by conducting a policy of settling matters in the open--on a footing of complete equality and equal responsibility for joint development. We cannot achieve it merely by making a racket against nationalism, when you no longer know whether any space at all has been left for the ethnic aspect, for everything that can be honored as the class aspect, as the general Yugoslav aspect and the general human aspect only in relations of the freedom of the nationalities. Not even big words about 'community consensus' can make up for that. 'Four or five nationalities did not come together to form the Yugoslav federation so that only one would be created from them,' said Kar-delj."

#### An Ideological Plug

Two opinions concerning nationalism in Slovenia stand opposed to one another. According to one, there is no nationalism, and the tales about nationalism are a consequence of the normal century-old concern to preserve the Slovenian language and Slovenian culture. According to the other opinion, nationalism does exist in Slovenia, but it is less obvious, since it does not manifest itself in markedly aggressive forms. It is alleged that some people think that until some 10 years ago there was "pure nationalism" in Slovenia--without chauvinism! This was allegedly an attitude of turning inward and toward internal affairs, and it lasted until they began to feel problems in the world around them which

they had not known before workers came from other parts. That is why it was supposedly difficult in Slovenia to identify the existence of any sort of nationalistic phenomena until they displayed themselves openly in conflicts with the "newcomers," who today make up one-tenth of this republic's total population.

Rastko Mocnik, an assistant at the School of Philosophy in Ljubljana, does not question the existence of Slovenian or the other nationalisms. He says that Levstik's formula to the effect that "the Slovene has to see a Slovène in a book," which means that one man does not see the other as a peasant, worker, educated man or university student, but that all are seen as one and the same thing, which actually they are not, displays what is referred to as the "phantom of ethnic identification." According to him, this was an ideological flower of speech which could have a progressive effect in the 19th century when Levstik wrote it, but today it is archaic and dangerous. He says that nationalism emerges at moments of ideological vacuum and that it is the speediest and cheapest ideology to fill an empty space.

"In our sociological discussions the nationality figures like an ideological plug with which we stop up holes in the underpinning of our theory. That is why political discussion has an advantage, since it distinguishes between the nationality aspect and the nationalistic aspect. Sociology, supposedly using the alibi of the scientific approach, has forgotten this, and I therefore think that today some of the social sciences in Slovenia are having a strong ideological influence toward a revival of nationalistic tendencies. To be specific, I am speaking about linguistics, Slavic studies and the Language Court. That court is a phenomenon resulting from collusion between the political bureaucracy and the scientific meritocracy. A political scientist's analysis will show that this is one of the rare activities of the Socialist Alliance which has any sort of broad response. In my opinion this is an activity which cannot be made part of the processes of democratization of society. People report errors in language to the court, which, according to the expert, is a sovereign arbiter. I see in such things a danger of a linkup of local elites which cannot make use of any other ideology than some implicit nationalistic or xenophobic ideology, and that for the purposes of social integration, that is, the so-called mobilization of the masses of people, Mocnik says.

He says that Slovenian nationalism is defensive at its roots, but that it is now showing itself on the offense.

"If they had more national self-confidence, the Slovenes would not feel themselves threatened by the workers from other regions," Mocnik adds. Since they are supposedly threatened, they act aggressively. Thus the nationalistic ideology turns a false threat and defensive feeling into aggression.

That mechanism probably accounts for the anecdote recently quoted in the Ljubljana newspaper DELO. "There were two Slovenes, Suljo and Mujo...." Though it is witty to some extent, the joke leaves a bitter taste.

Silva Meznaric, a sociologist in the Research Center for Self-Management of the Slovenian Trade Union, recently completed a 1-year survey called "Workers in Slovenia From the Other Republics and Provinces in Yugoslavia." She warns that one of the demonstrations of the weakness in development of our social sciences over the last 10 years is the fact that we were surprised by the problem of the ethnic aspect and that this especially applies to sociology, which in our country lags considerably behind the writings of Marxists abroad. Turning to the situation in Slovenia, she notes that this republic, which once was the most homogeneous ethnic community, has in statistical terms become an ethnic community which is still homogeneous, but mixed.

"Slovenia," Meznaric says, "is entering a phase when uncontrolled immigration, which at one time was viewed as a very temporary phenomenon, is beginning to exact a price. The people coming from other regions have to and want to make a great leap forward, which causes many personal and social conflicts. A failure to think these things through could result in 'someone' mobilizing the public opinion of Slovenes against some other group in this republic. The percentages of those who say that there is a threat to the Slovenian language, culture, way of life--have been rising drastically in the last few years. I am deeply convinced that this means that the Slovene has been mobilized in the sense that someone is pointing out to him that the direct cause of whatever troubles he might be having is living and working alongside him."

Dr Drago Rotar, docent at the School of Philosophy in Ljubljana, makes a somewhat similar observation. He says that nationalistic ideology functions only if there is an "enemy," regardless of whether that enemy is real or is a product of the nationalistic ideology.

"Traditionally our enemy was the German, who is regarded as economically and culturally superior," Rotar believes. "Now we Slovenes have found ourselves in a situation where we are at one and the same time 'both Germans and Slovenes,' which is paradoxical, so that an 'enemy,' the workers from other regions, has been created who is inferior in this kind of distorted view--since they are in the minority, since they have a lower level of skills, and since they come from underdeveloped regions."

#### Public Opinion Likened to a Horse

What does the population think about all these problems? Differing views obviously exist all over Yugoslavia concerning public opinion surveys. That is, it is a rather widespread opinion that public opinion is like a horse! It can be spurred, it can be bridled, but if you fall off--you can break your neck!

Perhaps this is why the opinions of the public concerning the key social, political and economic issues has been systematically studied since 1968 only in Slovenia. In this year's survey interethnic relations were one of the aspects of public opinion studied. It was unambiguously confirmed that people are becoming more critical in their judgments than previously, and their (in)disposition is evidenced by the ever growing number of people who refuse to answer the questions which are put.

The researcher Peter Klinar analyzed how public opinion is reacting to inter-ethnic relations and problems in the last issue of the journal NASI RAZGLEDI. According to him, the respondents in principle reacted favorably to interethnic relations, and it is therefore illogical that they pronounced their critical judgments as soon as the questions approach the concrete problems of interethnic relations. The researchers explain this in terms of the ideological influence which is projecting the desired principles concerning interethnic relations into the mass consciousness. This accounts for the generally favorable assessments, which do not, however, stand up to the test when it comes to evaluating specific phenomena. By comparison with the survey conducted in 1980 there is an evident decrease in willingness to develop working relations and neighborly relations with other nationalities and ethnic minorities.

It is interesting to analyze responses to the questions: What binds our nationalities and ethnic minorities together, and what divides them? It turned out that the principle of brotherhood and unity has been the most important integrative factor even from the first surveys. The greatest number of responses "brotherhood and unity" occurred in 1980, during the period of Tito's illness; last year the number of such opinions dropped off somewhat. Brotherhood and unity had its worst "showing" in 1972, probably as a consequence of the flood of nationalism. The tradition of the National Liberation Struggle is also judged to be an integrative factor with the highest share, a share which has not essentially changed with the passage of time.

Socialism and self-management are judged to be integrative factors to a moderate extent, and they are followed by the unified state, defense, security and the Yugoslav People's Army. The similarities of the nationalities and the League of Communists scored still lower.

In the last 2 years the results indicate a drop in the integrative significance of the factors: socialism, self-management and the League of Communists. At the same time there is a mild increase in the integrative significance of defense, the armed forces and the similarities of the nationalities. This, the sociologists say, denotes a standstill in development of interethnic relations today, since along with the declining importance of socialism, self-management and the party, there is an increase in the governmental and social factors linking together our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

As for disintegrative factors, the Slovenes refer above all to the differences in language. After that they list differences of religion and work habits. In the last 2 years there has been an increase in the disintegrative significance of religion and work habits, which to some extent indicates that interethnic relations are problematical.

Listed in the moderate category of disintegrative factors are the standard of living and cultural traditions. Klinar observes that problems in current interethnic relations are indicated by the high score of cultural differences as a disintegrative factor, which indicates the hard road which has to be traveled until the principle of cultural pluralism is honored. It should be emphasized that all present-day economic problems are judged to disintegrative.

Perhaps one datum referred to by the researchers should be taken as a warning: Although the share of integrative opinions is still predominant, it should be emphasized that their share is dropping, and the share of disintegrative views is increasing.

There are differing assessments of the reliability and suitability of public opinion surveys of this kind, since they study a sample rather than the entire population. Such objections were thrust aside in the past by one of the pioneers of research, who responded to one of his fiercest critics:

"The next time you are to have a blood sample taken, let them take out all your blood, and not just one test tube full."

#### We as a Collection of Minorities

So that is how Slovenes think. However, Rastko Močnik points to the cosmopolitan orientation of the young generation and to the fact that for them being a "Slovene, Croat or Serb does not signify something which should now be reaffirmed, and that against someone else."

"Xenophobization," he says, "which is being introduced by the educational reform will eat away that kind of cosmopolitan orientation. There is a tendency for the crisis of society to be thrust onto the backs of young people in the form of difficulties in finding a job, in the form of the disrupted educational system, the restricted enrollment at the university, and--all of this could be reduced to negative reactions of the nationalistic type."

At the same time Dr Drago Rotar says that Močnik is indeed fortunate to move in the company of "young people with a cosmopolitan orientation":

"But if we took as an example the university in Maribor or the cultural climate there, we would get an altogether different picture," he asserts. "In that part of Slovenia we have a traditional enemy over the border, and now a 'cause of trouble' has been found within the borders in the form of the workers who are 'newcomers,' and I think that the climate there smacks of chauvinism to some extent."

To be sure, those we talked to do say that nationalism is a contemporary phenomenon all over Europe, but that precisely for that reason we should not fall into a depressive outlook, asserting that since everyone is having problems with nationalism, that is our destiny as well! As a society of the socialist type Yugoslavia cannot achieve the desired degree of integration if it is founded at the expense of the minorities--"after all, we are all a collection of some sort of minorities," they say.

That is why in Močnik's opinion it is up to the social sciences in each ethnic community to criticize their own nationalism, which can take on the form of a critical showdown with their own consciousness imposed by nationalistic ideology.

Of course, Rotar warns, nationalism cannot be terminated by a decree or proclamation--but neither can it be done away with by a mere substitution of some other ideology, say "Yugoslavism as some kind of higher national consciousness."

Cautious Reproof From 'DELO'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1674, 30 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Tit Vidmar in response to the NIN article entitled "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive" and originally published in the Ljubljana newspaper DELO: "Hide and Seek With Nationalism"]

[Text] It truly is worthwhile to reflect on what Aleksandar Tijanic wrote in the first lines of his article in NIN which we are publishing in its entirety on p 18: We will not correct interethnic relations if we portray them as better than they are; certainly we can spoil them if we portray them worse than they are. He himself has obviously taken this second road, when he is so convinced of its reliability and effectiveness.

He did this by simply setting Slovenes up in opposition to "all others" in Yugoslavia. It cannot be a secret to anyone that in doing this he arrived in Ljubljana from a quite specific milieu and that his mission had an altogether unambiguous aim: in one form or another to reinforce once again the thesis of Slovenian nationalism. Tijanic is no novice at that job, nor is he the only one to have taken up this gratifying field of black-and-white magic.

Tijanic, who the Belgrade weekly published with proper emphasis and a measured editorial trapping, found people to talk to in Ljubljana who babbled out to him pleasantly, garrulously, naively or politely approximately what he wanted to hear. We will not enter into their "scientific" exposition, since they have secondary importance here. This time the topic needs to be the Slovene attitude toward workers from all "other parts" who are working in this republic, just as earlier in NIN, as well as in certain "other" newspapers, there was discussion of various springboards from punk rock music to the Language Court. In this entire procedure what is perhaps most surprising is the trivial and ephemeral plot with which Tijanic intoned his most recent construction.

The words "nationality," "ethnic minority," "ethnic," "interethnic" and various derived words, as well as those which have a negative implication, represent a set of terms which should be treated calmly, soberly and in a civilized way. In speech, thought and behavior respect should be paid when one takes up the sensitive subject matter which grows out of strong real and historical elements, and which at the same time touch deeply into man's moral and emotional world.

If anyone insists on this assurance and seeks the same treatment from "all others," then certainly these are the enlightened inhabitants of Yugoslavia: a unified community of nationalities which is based on many original solutions to complicated problems arising out of its composition. The nationalities of Yugoslavia can only refute with indignation anyone who doubts their determination to retain and strengthen what they have achieved in their community.

Likewise every one of the Yugoslav nationalities will preserve the inviolability of its identity and its right to its own free development within the promise of self-management. Anyone who does not like this philosophy, anyone who flees from this dialectics, anyone who would undermine this existential truth of the Yugoslav community, must anticipate an appropriate response.

At the time when it made its appearance and was launched into the world--in that apocalyptic time, that is, of the foreign occupation, the imposed division of our territory and the fratricidal settling of accounts--the motto of the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities of Yugoslavia was conceived with almost unheard of courage and boldness. And it proved to embody one of the fundamental and decisive ideas of the triumphant revolution. This motto has retained its value to the present day, and its importance extends into the future. Its content is understandably different and much more elaborate than it was in the moments of the bare struggle for life and death.

If we must continually renew our intense effort and struggle for the unity and equality of the Yugoslav nationalities, then this merely reveals how important, vital and fateful for us is this so-called nationality question of ours. Which also means, most probably, that we have not come even close to doing everything we might and must do, that many times we have neglected knowledge we have paid a high price for and that on several occasions or often we have behaved contrary to the principles which have been proclaimed. If at this time we must come into conflict with more or less organized, continuous or intensifying attempts to broaden the cracks in our interethnic structure and to deform its appearance, then this only reveals that the way out of the difficulties and troubles which are squeezing us is still most intimately bound up with a correct understanding of the nationality question, and also that it depends directly on being mindful and respectful toward the legitimacy of the institutional framework of Yugoslavia's interethnic relations.

Now that we have been asked, we readily acknowledge that we Slovenes have also--or, perhaps, that it is we Slovenes who have--considerably contributed to the revolutionary theory of the nature and role of the nationality question, which has been confirmed in the most difficult trials. We likewise gladly acknowledge that in the measures allocated to us in the framework of Yugoslavia we have never renounced cooperation and responsibility for everything that is happening or not happening in our common homeland, regardless of whether it was good or bad. Whence, then, this unfortunate Slovenian nationalism?

It would be crazy, meretricious or ridiculous to assert or to think that there have not been nationalists in Slovenia, that there are none even today, and that there will not be in the future. They make themselves evident in various ways, and they also receive the criticism and rejection they deserve. Now, however, the reference obviously is not to them (what are we to do with them?), but to certain people who are hiding behind those "others," attempting by every means to fabricate everywhere a phenomenon which we might call Slovenian nationalism.

Since the authors of this invention are not concerned with individual expressions of personal disposition, but with a broader tendency which is not difficult to identify, prestigious Slovenian politicians have already come out with fuller clarifications as to what they mean by Slovenian national identity and national or ethnic identity in general, what the difference is between nationalism and the legitimate national consciousness of an existing nationality, and how we Slovenians--truly, once again--are striving for issues in Yugoslavia to be settled primarily in a way that is sensible and worthwhile for everyone. Most probably these people might even suspect that these recurrent statements are being made by nationalistic "experts" in attempts to discredit the Slovenian policy and, if you like, the Slovenian party--when everyone knows that that policy and that party are not and cannot be anything other than a creative and integral part of Yugoslav policy and the Yugoslav party. Be that as it may, it is clearly evident that those tolerant and patient clarifications have not been sufficient, that is, that in a certain "other" press people have been persistently carrying out their own unpleasant scheme (in this connection it is equally true that "other" competent and responsible politicians have so far refrained from a public analysis and assessment of this behavior).

No one is against a dialogue concerning the issues of the ethnic survival and development of the Yugoslav nationalities, all of them together and each one separately. On the contrary, we feel and believe that we talk too little or too poorly about these things, though a frank, and then peaceful and clear-headed discussion with one another and reflection could help us to overcome many difficulties and would protect us from many unpleasantnesses. But a man who is ethnically, politically and culturally enlightened can only consciously reject plans to make use of these important and valuable issues solely as a screen for covering petty and banal calculations or even larger unsatisfied appetites which have persisted in the social, class and historical dregs of our reality.

#### Angry Letter to Editor

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1674, 30 Jan 83  
pp 4, 6

[Letter to the editor by Matjaz Kmecl, Ljubljana: "The 'Slovenian Corner,' Fran Levstik and Others"]

[Text] It is rather unfortunate or at the least in bad taste to represent to today's Serbian reader Fran Levstik, one of those who had the greatest respect for Vuk Karadzic, as the initiator of Slovenian nationalism and the founder of the "phantom of national identification," as has been done in NIN. And that solely because in one of his writings on the direction of literature he wrote that "the Slovene should see a Slovene in the book, just as he sees his face in the mirror" (rather than seeing himself as a peasant, worker, educated man or university student). This opinion has allegedly been brought up-to-date by my colleague at the university Dr Rastko Mocnik in an interview with NIN reporter A. Tijanic. I do not know, perhaps A. Tijanic, who is otherwise just as serious as a newspaperman as R. Mocnik is as a scientist, did not present

Dr Mocnik the article in advance to authorize, but it is a fact that in the text quoted from Levstik is condemning the well-to-do in Slovenia, that he is very class-conscious in his views, and that in conclusion he highlights his reflections with the broadest humanism: "I would think that man is the first thing for any artist, that everything else has only whatever importance it receives after him." It will also be especially interesting to the Serbian reader to know that Levstik in that same passage recommends: "Of all the dialects every Slovenian writer should know Serbian first of all, or at least include it."

Levstik's "nationalism" was resistance against the strong and bloody Germanizing pressures--and if this is now to be held against him by a Slovenian intellectual today who gave an interview to Tijanic (who in the same article notes through similar words of others and without embarrassment that we Slovenes are at the same time "both Germans and Slovenes"), then it is all the stranger that such assertions seem logical, acceptable and somehow understandable and "cosmopolitan" to a top-flight Serbian newspaperman. Between the lines he begins abruptly, simply, frighteningly and insultingly to offer a strange equation: the Slovenes are at least half-German, and it is well known that the Germans are the historical enemies of the Serbs, which means that everything that these Slovenian hybrids do is dangerous--their "nationalism" becomes comprehensible, and the danger is confirmed. A red alert for simple and pure Serbian hearts! World War I and World War II, the battle on the Drina and on the Kadinjaca are still within vivid memory! A suspicion is already born: What if on the other side they were not Germans and Nedicites, but Slovenes who put on their uniforms? And what if that entire tale today about coffee, vegetable oil and toilet paper is just their silent revenge for having lost the last war (and that the fact that one out of every nine Slovenes died in it--let us hope that it is not so--is some kind of game; it is quite possible that they were actually shot, those Slovenes, by members of the Red Army in the siege of Stalingrad)?!

It is hard for me to bear, brother Serbs from NIN, when you play with these words which are not altogether clean! One reason why we Slovenes have always loved you is your golden Serbian humor, but all of this is somehow in bad faith, bitter and sullen (perhaps one of the reasons is that you chose three Slovenes for staff members, but there are other reasons).

Would it not have been better if you had preferred to help with concrete warnings to eliminate and above all identify concrete deviations? If, for example, after having promised for nearly 2 years now, one of your newspapermen had analytically and authentically pointed to the nationalism of the celebrated Language Arbitration Commission which has been talked about so much--but not in vague generalities, but in the manner: here there was this, and there there was that? Or for Comrade Tijanic to say which Slovenian school it was where they expelled a student who spoke Serbian over the school broadcasting system (suppose he had spoken Albanian)? Or if we attempted to obtain from the review DANAS the address of the anonymous person in Ljubljana who gave as the sole piece of evidence for Slovenian nationalism that Language Arbitration Commission (which seemed such a discovery to the editors of that prestigious Zagreb journal that it published the letter) and to obtain some still more

concrete statement from that writer? Or to establish why the prestigious Slovenian newspaperman M. Cepic in the review DANAS wrote who it was who sold coffee without hindrance "on the black market" in Belgrade, Nis, Skoplje, Sarajevo, and Kragujevac, according to the quote in NIN (because Slovenes had been charged previously with those acts in precisely those places--certainly without any nationalistic overtones)? Perhaps it would be equally useful to learn from Dr Mocnik who was the specialist in Slovenian studies who fanned the flames of nationalism--when, how and by what means? Or to learn where there is a greater effort to "mobilize public opinion ... against some other group," in the Ljubljana press or in certain other newspapers? It would also be a very useful and concrete thing to do to learn on what basis Dr Mocnik "points to the cosmopolitan orientation of the young generation" and what aspects of the school reform, which is foreign to cosmopolitanization of young people, seem to him "xenophobization"? And finally, it would also be worthwhile to put the question of the obvious physiognomy of Slovenian sociological science, which declares through that same spokesman: "Which means, I am profoundly convinced, that the Slovene has been mobilized in the sense that someone is pointing out to him that the immediate cause of troubles he is having is living and working here beside him." (And yet more of the same.) Is this not pure "scientific" idealism? To neglect production relations as the point of departure for articulation of these or those ideas? As though ideas can in and of themselves live in their social dimensions!

I know that in a newspaper, as the saying goes, you have the scissors and the cloth in your own hands. Experience tells me that you can publish this letter or not, in its entirety or in part, in a good or in a poor translation; you can accompany it with a comment, a "clarification," a statement of the case either properly or with new reproaches, quotes and half-quotes. Nevertheless, just allow one question: What and who does it serve, brother Serbs from NIN, to write this way? Turning people against the Slovenes? To turn your Slovenian readers against you yourselves and the Serbs? Why? What is to be gained?

#### Second Letter

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1674, 30 Jan 83 p 6

[Letter to the editor\* by Srecko Neidorfer: "Openness in a Draft"]

[Text] ... Dr Dali Djongalic, rector of Maribor University, says:

"Recently we have not noted at our university a single example of nationalism or chauvinism. I don't know where Dr Rotar gets the information for such a statement. Nor do I know why Maribor, which is a working class city and a city open to working class composition would be less cosmopolitan than Ljubljana or why Maribor University would be less cosmopolitan than Ljubljana University.

"I also come from elsewhere, yet I am the rector of a Slovenian university. I do not know whether such an example is a mirror of the real openness of any

Editor's note: Excerpts from a lengthy [original reads "opstina"] text.

other Yugoslav postwar or prewar university. In Maribor there have been several deans who were not Slovenes by nationality, just as is now the case with Dr Simet Ivanjko, dean of the Junior Postsecondary School of Law. I have been in Slovenia for 19 years ... and if I ever really felt nationalism, that was during the 'national euphoria,' 'liberalism,' and 'technomanagerialism,' which was a decade ago...."

... There are at this moment 1,550 students in university dormitories in Maribor, 225 of them from other republics and provinces. "I do not know why people have recently been asking me whether we have manifestations of nationalistic and chauvinistic outbursts. We have had not a single such case," declares Ivan Rigler, supervisor of the student dormitory sector.

... The university, as a part of Maribor's cultural climate, has not been without cases of nationalism and chauvinism. "There is not a single element which we might take as the basis for suspecting that interethnic relations have broken down in this area," says Slavko Vizovisek, member of the Presidium of the Maribor City Conference of the SAWP, who specifically monitors this problem area.

If we now extend the problem to Maribor itself, that is, to the inhabitants of all six of its opstinas, then Alojz Vindis Dunda, chairman of the Maribor City Conference of the League of Communists of Slovenia, offers this assessment:

"We have not had a single outburst which we might label nationalism or chauvinism." However, Vindis has suspected with concern that perhaps what he said in a discussion in the Slovenian LC Central Committee might once again have been wrongly interpreted: "In view of the sizable number of workers from other republics and provinces in the opstinas of Maribor who, as is to be expected, purchased sizable quantities of goods that are temporarily in short supply and send them to their families at home, I noted that this phenomenon could arouse nationalism or even chauvinism. It was, then, a warning, by no means an assessment of the situation. Since recently we have had a better supply of these goods, the danger I was referring to during the discussion of the problem of supply is decreasing."

... People from outside the borders of Slovenia, on the basis of ethnic composition, comprise nearly one-tenth of Maribor's population. In a city which at least in school readers is supposed to be one of the strongest industrial centers of Yugoslavia this certainly is not a great many. Nor is it a great many for the center of a province which, as Djongalic puts it, has its geographic and historical specificity, and to support this he refers to pan-Slavism and General Maistr. It is true that we live together with those nationalities and ethnic minorities. There have been nationalistic reverberations in response to the nationalistic events in Kosovo in 1980 even in Maribor. But still less than in a majority of other places. It is also indisputable that there have been disputes between people of different nationalities and minorities, in which that "ethnic" characteristic is manifested by and large in the same way, having to do with whether you are from the left or the right bank of the River Drava, are you Pohorec or Prlek, and so on. There have been no real manifestations of nationalism or chauvinism in our community, and we can be proud of

that, and we will continue to strive to keep it that way. However, if our efforts are to be successful, we must also quote the second introductory passage from Aleksandar Tijanic's article in the weekly NIN: "Certainly we will make interethnic relations worse if we say that they are poorer than they really are."

Commentary From Maribor's 'VECER'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1674, 30 Jan 83  
pp 6, 25

[Commentary by Marjan Pungartnik: "Either Wolf or Sheep: But Not a Blood-thirsty Sheep"]

[Text] ... I reproach critics of nationalistic manifestations in Slovenia for having seized upon marginal happenings and consequences instead of confronting the reasons--which would have faced them with different and less easily definable "fronts." When I read that in some places the "responsible personnel" had provided only 20 percent of the supply of the most important products, I merely became still more convinced that those social groups who in those communities were given a mandate to administer public business have obviously used this for other purposes, while the Budva case is an obvious illustration of such egoism and of the disintegration of the social system that follows therefrom. One of the first signs of that disintegration was the departure of workers to more advanced places. Nationalism, then, is only a result of social conflicts, and if we address ourselves only to it, we will always be confining ourselves to correcting the consequences, and that leads nowhere.

The article entitled "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive" is one of the variations on a theme which has gained legitimacy even in well-intentioned generalizations about the Slovene--supposedly every Slovene is a nationalist. We must wage an unremitting and universal struggle against nationalism, but there is a question as to what the biased and manipulative spirit conceives to be nationalism. Resolving the social issues related to "Gostarbeiter" is necessary--we are faced with this like everyone else. This is understandably a process of redistribution of the social product and it affects all parts of society, which means that it must take place through democratic discussion involving everyone. We need not specifically emphasize that this is also a process involving conflict: In the course of it the question of the justifiability of such migrations must also be put. Now that these workers are already in Slovenia, then this becomes their community as well, since they are obviously a part of it with equal rights regardless of what brought them here. There is a very sensitive instrument for measuring the degree of democracy, and that is its social minorities. The worker who has come from elsewhere is a social minority because of his marginal position not because of the nationality he belongs to. After all, if he had found his place in his original community, if he had not first been uprooted from his own community, if he had not proved to be a surplus which the community showed no other interest in than merely to adopt him in the most abstract way as a member of its nationality, the question of his marginality in another community would never have arisen. The question of the workers who have come from elsewhere is a test of

realization of the possibility of the pluralism of lifestyles and of the tolerance and respect for what is different.

Regulation of the random and uncontrolled flows are not sufficient for equal affirmation of all nationalities and ethnic minorities, but rather we must build instruments which will signify new and qualitatively higher solutions. The language over which we have so entangled ourselves is one of the most neglected elements. After nearly 4 decades of "community" not only have we failed to give every Yugoslav the opportunity to learn one of the Yugoslav languages as a second language, but we are even retreating from this possibility. Nor have we done anything intelligent in order to improve linguistic awareness even with respect to our own language. In a democratic socialist society everyone can speak his own language without any loss to understanding, and the language spoken at the level of the nationality is only one of the possible ones. Therein lies my objection to linguistic arbitration in general ("linguistic adjudication" rather than a court, is only one of the forms of which there are many--NIN itself is developing one of them) which takes understanding among people to be the same as the use of a uniform coded language, which is a priori a dead language. Which means that a few phrases in conversation and the reading of newspapers still do not signify a knowledge of the language of which we Slovenes so gladly boast. A conscious attitude toward one's own language, together with a conscious attitude toward all the elements of the nationality, are possible only in a democratic socialist society in which a true human community is slowly beginning to make its way rather than merely substitutes for it. That is why it seems to me so important to insist on analyzing social (class) conflicts, since the harsher they are, the greater the role that begins to be given to the alienated administrative apparatus (the state) and the more the possibility of a true human community begins to fade.

#### Wrapup by Journalist

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1674, 30 Jan 83 p 25

[Rebuttal by Aleksandar Tijanic: "To Have and Have Not"]

[Text] NIN began the discussion of nationalism in No 1666, under the general heading "Traditions, Myths and Nationalism." After my article entitled "Dangerous Games," published in that issue, concerning certain recent manifestations of Serbian nationalism--which means that we began with "phenomena at home"--we received several signed letters in which I was accused of betraying "the Serbian cause and the heroism of my forefathers."

A month later, following publication of my article entitled "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive," a dozen signed letters and comments came in from Slovenia from which I learned that I have also "betrayed" the Slovenes! I don't think that this is a mere misunderstanding, since this kind of reaction to the text that was published was out of proportion in its intensity and was derived from "facts" which were not there in the article! That is, I am accused of coming from another community with "intentions conceived in advance," yet I did nothing other than what DELO of Ljubljana did 2 weeks ago when it published an article from "another community" under the title--"Nationalism in

Bosnia-Hercegovina," or a week ago with the long review of the production of "Pigeon Pit" in Belgrade. I had actually thought that all the nationalisms in Yugoslavia were "ours," and not only "theirs," which was confirmed in the example of Kosovo. That is, the method which is attributed to me by DELO cannot be so malicious if DELO itself uses it.

The rector of Maribor University says that "recently they have not noted a single example of nationalism and chauvinism" there. This is deserving of every praise and it is quite true that one cannot say that there is more nationalism in some places and less in others. But what is the critical quantity of nationalism? Can it be said that it exists there over the hill, but doesn't here with us? Or that in our society there are sterile regions with possible admixtures of benign, read harmless, nationalism? To be sure, there is also nationalism of that kind, but not here and now! I wrote those articles not so that we could make an artificial equality as to nationalism, but because surveys, and even certain assessments of official spokesmen, are indicative of this phenomenon.

Matjaz Kmecl, former president of the Language Razsodisce [Slovenian word meaning "court of arbitration"] (the term is well known and should no longer be translated), and at present the Slovenian secretary for culture, along with several mentions of NIN as a "Serbian newspaper and of brother Serbs," remarks that one reason why the Slovenes like those Serbs is "their golden humor." Although a sense of humor is undoubtedly a valuable gift, I always thought that the Slovenes and Serbs and all the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia were bound together by something else, something which is not humorous at all.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN NATIONALISM AS PERCEIVED IN SLOVENIA

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 83 pp 11-13

[Article by Boris Kutin and Jelena Lovric: "The Dance Around Slovenian Nationalism"]

[Text] Is a wave of Slovenian nationalism now reaching us after certain others? If one is to judge by the amount of space given it recently in the media--the situation is quite serious: Slovenian nationalism is on the offensive and seems to be approaching the boiling point. However, there are also those who think otherwise. Without denying that even in Slovenia the enemy No 1 of Yugoslav society has not been altogether eradicated--the Slovenians, as they say, are no exception in that regard--these people say that the pulse of everyday life nevertheless does not resound with a nationalistic overtone. In the Slovenian halls of justice, for example, the number of cases involving nationalism is negligible. What is the truth? How much Slovenian nationalism is there, what kind is it, is it of recent date or is the flood of warnings only a sign of increased sensitivity?

The first swallows of the Yugoslavia-wide debate of Slovenian nationalism appeared in connection with the Language Arbitration Commission established in association with the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, and at first they were an expression of wonderment and the question: What do the Slovenians really want? The debates reached their culmination less than a year ago in the very heated public discussion of the Slovenian language, the threat to its purity, and the discussion of the proceedings of the Language Arbitration Commission within that context.

The new wave of debates about Slovenian nationalism was initiated by an article in NIN entitled "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive," in which its author, Aleksandar Tijanic, answered the question of whether there is nationalism in Slovenia which is "defensive in origin, but is manifesting itself on the offensive." According to him, "there are two opposed opinions concerning nationalism in Slovenia. According to one, it does not exist, and the tales about nationalism are the consequence of the normal 100-year-old concern about preserving the Slovenian language and Slovenian culture. According to the other opinion, nationalism does exist in Slovenia, but it is less obvious, since it does not have markedly aggressive forms of manifestation. Opinions are expressed to the effect that until some 10 years ago in Slovenia there

existed 'pure nationalism'--without chauvinism! This was allegedly an attitude of turning inward and toward internal affairs, and it lasted until they began to feel problems in their own vicinity which they were not aware of until workers came from other regions. That is why it supposedly was difficult in Slovenia to identify the existence of any sort of nationalistic phenomenon until they showed up openly in conflicts with the 'newcomers,' who today comprise one-tenth of this republic's total population."

#### Two Letters and Opinions

In Slovenia Tijanic mainly found people to interview who were more inclined to this latter thesis. For example, Rastko Mocnik, an assistant at the School of Philosophy in Ljubljana, "does not question the existence of Slovenian or other nationalisms," he asserts that "Slovenian nationalism is basically defensive, but it is now showing itself on the offensive." Slovenes supposedly feel threatened by workers from other regions, and this is giving rise to their aggressiveness. Mocnik goes on to assert that "certain social sciences have a strong ideological influence in Slovenia today toward revival of nationalistic tendencies. To be specific, I am referring to linguistics, Slovenian studies and the Language Arbitration Commission. That commission is a phenomenon of collusion between the political bureaucracy and the scientific meritocracy. (...) In my opinion this is an activity which cannot fit into the processes of democratization of society. The people report errors of language to the commission, which is the sovereign arbiter on the basis of its supposed expertise. I see in these things a danger of linkage among local elite which cannot use any other ideology than some implicit nationalistic or xenophobic ideology, and that for the purposes of social integration, that is, the so-called mobilization of the masses of people."

Dr Drago Rotar, docent at the School of Philosophy in Ljubljana, spoke similarly, referring to Maribor University and the cultural climate there as a bad example. "In that part of Slovenia we have a traditional enemy over the border, but now a 'cause of trouble' has been found within the borders in the form of the workers who are 'newcomers,' and I think that the climate there smacks of chauvinism to some extent," said Rotar as quoted in NIN.

For the sake of more complete information it is worth saying that the story and attitude in that article were built up in part on the basis of two letters from readers published some time ago by our own weekly. In the first a reader from Ljubljana who wished to remain anonymous (but "living only 5 years" in Slovenia) asserts that "certain people (leaders) here in SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia have become true 'national heroes' by setting themselves apart from the spirit of consensus," and he is amazed that in a community "where members of all the nationalities and minorities are now living one nationality is spoken about (mainly) in the superlative, while all others are referred to (mainly) as people who create problems, do not have work skills and a multitude of other 'fantastic' traits on the basis of which the 'host' is supposed to conclude: 'Why we would be best off if we were alone.'" In the second letter another reader comments on data published concerning foreign travel, concerning the ethnic origin of smugglers, and he asked "Who has been selling thousands and thousands of kilograms of coffee, and that altogether in the

open, under the nose of the market inspectors and law enforcement agencies, at markets in Belgrade, Nis, Skopje, Sarajevo, Kragujevac and many other places? Surely they were not Slovenes?"

The repercussions from NIN's article were not long in coming. The enormous range of the reactions is best indicated by the assessment given them by those with whom NIN spoke: whereas Tit Vidmar in DELO says that the author of the article "found people to talk to who would babble approximately the nonsense he wanted to hear in a pleasant, garrulous, naive or polite way," Miodrag Bulatovic in TELEKS declared that "that is how civilized Slovenes have to speak."

#### Exchange of Arguments

First ensued the semiofficial denials, and in view of the now deep-seated habit of exchanging much of the fire among the republics and provinces through the newspapers and other news media, perhaps the editorial in the Saturday supplement of DELO, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Slovenia, can even be taken as an official denial. The column was written by Tit Vidmar, who reproached the newsman from NIN for his bad faith, saying that "it cannot be a secret to anyone that he came to Ljubljana from a quite definite milieu and that his mission had a quite unambiguous aim: to reinforce the thesis of Slovenian nationalism once again in one form or another." Incidentally, Vidmar insists that one should not confuse with nationalism the "preservation of one's identity and the right to one's own free development in the future context of self-management." He admits that it would be foolish, meretricious or ridiculous to assert or to suppose that there are no nationalists in Slovenia who are "getting the criticism and rejection they deserve," but they, he says, are not in question here, but "certain people who are hiding behind those 'others,' attempting by every means to fabricate everywhere a phenomenon we might call Slovenian nationalism. Since in the authors of this discovery we are not dealing with individual expressions of personal disposition, but a broader tendency which is not difficult to identify, prestigious Slovenian politicians have already come forth who have patiently explained what they mean by Slovenian--or any other--national identity, what is the difference between nationalism and the legitimate national consciousness of an established nationality, and how we Slovenes are among those who are working authentically so that matters in Yugoslavia are regulated above all in a sensible way that is beneficial to everyone. It is most probable that these people might even suspect that these reiterated statements involved nationalistic 'experts' at attempts to discredit Slovenian policy and, if you like, the Slovenian party--if it were not common knowledge that that policy and that party are not and cannot be anything other than a creative and integral part of Yugoslav policy and the Yugoslav party. Be that as it may, it is clearly evident that tolerant and patient explanations have not been adequate, that is, that they are obstinately pursuing their unpleasant intrigue in some 'other' press (in this connection it is equally true that 'other' competent and responsible politicians have up to now refrained from public analysis and assessment of this behavior)."

Tit Vidmar concludes his column in DELO with the words that "an ethnically, politically and culturally enlightened man" can only reject intentions to use

the important and precious questions of national survival and development of the Yugoslav nationalities "solely as a screen for concealing banal petty calculations or even larger unsatisfied appetites surviving in the social, class and historical dregs of our reality."

VECER of Maribor also reacted, rebutting the idea that there have been nationalistic outbursts in that city and at its university. For example, Dr Dali Djongalic, rector of the university there, says that "recently we have not noted a single example of nationalism or chauvinism," and he cites his own example as an illustration of openness: although he is from another community, this did not prevent him from becoming rector of a Slovenian university. "I do not know whether this example is a mirror of the actual openness of any other Yugoslav university either before or since the war," says Djongalic.

"We have not had a single outburst which we could clearly describe as nationalism or socialism," Alojz Vindis Dunda, chairman of the Maribor party organization, also said in VECER. And he added that perhaps what is involved is a reiterated mistaken interpretation of what he had to say in the Slovenian LC Central Committee: "Since there is a sizable number of workers from other republics and provinces in the opstinas of Maribor, who quite normally are purchasing sizable quantities of goods which are scarce at the moment and are sending them to their families at home, I would issue a warning that this phenomenon could arouse nationalism or even chauvinism. It is a question, then, of a warning, by no means of an assessment of the situation."

The next act in this 3-week story occurred in the pages of TELEKS, an illustrated weekly published by the Delo Publishing House, which published an interview of the new editor in chief of that review with Miodrag Bulatovic, who in the round-table discussion already mentioned uttered several offensive words, especially about the Language Arbitration Commission, nearly a year ago, according to TELEKS. Bulatovic repeated the same thing on this occasion: according to him nationalism is concealed behind the concern for a good and pure Slovenian language; the proponents of the Language Arbitration Commission are "provincial romantics" trumping up the argument that their language is threatened by non-Slovenes. "Any such talk about language, wherever it might be, is shot through with Aryanism. In Serbia they also attempted to discuss language in this way, and then they stopped in time, since perhaps the Serbian court would have to ascertain that non-Serbs, newcomers, have been spoiling the mother tongue. Perhaps even the Federation," Bulatovic says, adding thereafter that we all speak one language, like it or not, the Yugoslav language, which according to him is the "language which expresses the Yugoslav way of thought." He also speaks about the need for and coercion of workers coming to work in Slovenia to learn Slovene: "How are they to learn Slovene? Is anyone helping them at all in that? If a worker saw that his child was being helped at least once a week to preserve his mother tongue, then he would not behave that way toward the machine, he would not break it." "You expect a worker coming from Banja Luka to instantly use your dual correctly." The entire tone of the interview is nevertheless probably best characterized by Bulatovic's response to the question of what nationality he belongs to: "I am from Montenegro, I am a Serb, I belong to that nationality, since the Montenegrins are members of the Serbian people and not the Illyrian or even Greek people...."

### Divided Opinions

In its 30 January issue NIN published the column from DELO, parts of the article from VECER, two letters from its own readers and a short answer from the author of the article entitled "Defensive Nationalism on the Offensive," who said that the reactions were of "inordinate strength and derived from facts which were not in the article." Aleksandar Tijanic went on to say that he is reproached for coming from another community with predetermined intentions, but that he "had done nothing more than DELO of Ljubljana, when 2 weeks before it had published an article from another community under the heading 'Nationalism in Bosnia-Hercegovina,' or a week before with the long review of the production of 'Pigeon Pit' in Belgrade. I actually thought that all nationalisms in Yugoslavia are 'ours,' and not only 'theirs,' which was confirmed in the example of Kosovo." Tijanic says in response to the assertions of the rector of Maribor University that nationalism and chauvinism have not been noted there recently that this deserves every praise and that it is "quite accurate that one cannot speak about how there is more nationalism in one place and less somewhere else," and he goes on to put several questions: "But what is the critical mass of nationalism? Can it be said that it exists over there, over the hill, while there is none here with us? Or that in our society there are sterile regions with possible admixtures of benign, read harmless, nationalism? To be sure, there is also that kind of nationalism, but not here and in this time! I wrote those articles not so that we might achieve an artificial equality in nationalism, but because the surveys, indeed even certain assessments by spokesmen, give indication of that phenomenon."

At the moment it is uncertain whether or in what way the polemics will continue.

It certainly should be mentioned that in the meantime the Center for Marxism of the Slovenian LC Central Committee has organized a round-table discussion of Slovenian nationalism. Although it was on a very authoritative level, then, the highest authorities were not present, especially those from the ranks of the politicians. Opinions were divided about how dangerous Slovenian nationalism is. Thus Franc Sali, director of the Center for Marxism, who incidentally is a member of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, said that there is sufficient evidence that the LCY has always been aware of the presence and importance of nationalism in Yugoslavia, and that the Slovenian LC has also been exceedingly aware of this and so far has been fairly successful in opposing social deformations of this kind in practice, together with the other socialist forces.

### Tendentious Challenges

In place of any other conclusion it seems to us sufficient to recall an interview with Jaka Koprivc, member of the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee, about whether there is a Slovenian line and what that line might be which are weekly published in its 4 January issue, that same issue from which NIN quoted the letter of the reader about the ethnic origin of black marketeers. Koprivc said at that time that there are "many half-truths being bandied about in public and weighing down our mutual relations." The rather

frequent reflections in Slovenia "to the effect that everything is ideal with us, that in this regard Slovenia is a republic which can stand as a model, that it is saving and pulling along Yugoslavia," are very dangerous and "sometimes they are directly or indirectly in the service of nationalism!" Mitja Ribicic recently described the thesis of the exploitation of Slovenia as "the cheapest slogan of the nationalists." On the other hand, Koprivc said, "sometimes certain Slovenian demands for incentives and a better position of the export sector of the economy, for expansion of the room for associated labor to maneuver within self-management, is carelessly equated with being tantamount to Slovenian nationalism or some kind of Slovenian partial or suspicious interest."

That first attitude of Slovenes toward the rest of Yugoslavia, which is a bit reserved and a bit suspicious, "is not as a general thing any permanent position of Slovenes and of Slovenia, but emerges in aggravated situations when our people feel--and they are very sensitive--that certain matters which have ethnic significance, not nationalistic, but ethnic, are erroneously interpreted in Yugoslavia. This results in a resistance which is the result of certain challenges which, like it or not, are tendentious or at least irresponsible. We have been faced with them since last February: with that fabricated story about punk music, and about the Language Arbitration Commission, and then the foreign exchange system. All of this has been measured out, if I am not to use too strong a word, but in such a way as to cast a bit of suspicion on Slovenes. And that is felt."

The fight against nationalism must be joined to the constant struggle for affirmation and confirmation of the ethnic aspect. By force of circumstance the party in Slovenia has most often given maximum respect to that dialectics, and thus "in recent years it has made several inroads: it initiated the concern for the Slovenian language, it launched a number of campaigns in the ethnic domain which previously had belonged mostly to the oppositionist forces or the emigre community. That essentially eliminated nationalisms as well," Koprivc said determinedly.

In that position it has taken and especially in its actions the Slovenian party organization differs to some extent from certain other republic organizations of the League of Communists. It would be oversimple to say that this is the only cause of misunderstandings, but it could be one of them?

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NATIONALIST WRITING OF SERB DOBRICA COSIC DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 82 pp 61-63

[Article by Jadranko Sinkovic: "Cosic's Sinister Fairytales: What Is Hidden in the 'New' Collection of Eloquent Outcries"]

[Text] As we write these lines a book is selling like hotcakes in the book-stores. It is Dobrica Cosic's new book entitled "Stvarno i moguce" [The Real and the Possible], published by the Otokar Kersovani Publishing House in Rijeka and printed by Buducnost, printers in Novi Sad.

But even at its first steps into public notice the book experienced harsh political-ideological criticism, first in a meeting of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC [League of Communists] and then in the LCY Central Committee, where Josip Vrhovec, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, in condemning certain of our political-ideological trends, referred to this book as a "deception practiced on the public by the publisher." But that is not the only reason why the book has aroused a great deal of attention. That is, Cosic's discourses and critical thoughts, hectographed and distributed, were appearing in Belgrade even before publication of this book in which they have been collected "with due ceremony." Petit bourgeois nationalistic mentalities could hardly wait for the public promotion of their political "big gun." That is probably why in a news article NIN of Belgrade presented this book to the public with a rather unusual announcement that "it has every possibility of becoming a kind of bible of the Serbian nationalists."

The Calculation

And thus all the preconditions came about for Dobrica Cosic's new book to be opened with a strong revival of prejudice and in some places even with a more or less clear tendentiousness. And this precisely at this moment when, along with the economic difficulties, speaking objectively, nationalisms of all stripes, often as an admixture in the oppositionist company of other theoretical and political attributes, are truly becoming stronger in society. In the debates which will certainly ensue concerning the book one of the arguments that will probably leave its own imprint, this one also abused in the popular mind in connection with "Pigeon Pit": Let us be grateful, say certain spokesmen, that we have concrete contributions to development of democratic dialogue

and that our publishing business, as a cultural and intellectual factor in the development of this region, nevertheless here and there is free of crude and limited ideologization. Although, then, that thesis concerning the right to freedom of thought and democratization of dialogue will certainly make its appearance, and although that thesis "covers" its essence with the most shining weapon of the era of bourgeois humanism, which has been ineradicable in subsequent history--nevertheless that thesis today in connection with Cosic's book will be wrong for only one simple reason: it assumes something else than the freedom of creativity, which it uses as a humanistic cloak and political cover. In the rhetoric it addresses to about freedom its hope is to lower the nationalistic maul on one's head. That is why we believe this attempt is a failure in advance and can be nothing other than an attempt to settle accounts with the policy of the League of Communists and with Tito's historical accomplishment.

#### The "Archpriest"

There is probably no need to give Dobrica Cosic a lengthy introduction to the general public. As one of our truly most distinguished men of letters Cosic is read from one's earliest days in school, nor can he be omitted in any serious seminar on contemporary Serbian and Yugoslav literature. Up until May 1968 he was even a member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, a very active sociopolitical figure. At the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee that took place that May Cosic delivered a criticism of the prevailing ideological conception in nationality policy, speaking about the "dissatisfaction with the development, position and prospects for the future of the Serbian people in Yugoslavia and in Serbia," emphasizing "that the ethnic and historical dignity of the Serbian people had been offended." Cosic was at that time severely criticized as a nationalist and expelled from the League of Communists. That speech is presented for the first time to the general public in the new book. It was previously published only in a special edition of KOMUNIST in 1968. Ten years later Cosic was accepted as a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the speech he made at his installation was to have a large response. Not only because of the harsh and indeed even crude nationalism and chauvinism which Cosic expressed in that harangue, but also because of the attempt to justify Chetnikism and to accuse our revolution in World War II. Now that speech has also been put between covers, but it had been previously printed in the GLAS of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, as well as in the emigre press.

Meanwhile Cosic has remained an active nationalistic ideologue, one of the chief "archpriests" of the Serbian nationalists. Nevertheless, this obviously did not hinder the Otokar Kersovani Publishing House in Rijeka at all from printing 14 of his essays, speeches and interviews, all of which but one had been previously published in editions that by and large were not very accessible to the general public. The note at the end of that only text which had not been previously published says a great deal, taken with all the rest, about Kosta Cavoski, who prepared the manuscript, and about the publisher as well. That is, this text is actually a lecture which Cosic was supposed to deliver at London University in May 1980. The note reads: "The author was prevented from traveling to England by an exceptional event within the

country." We all know that that exceptional event was the death of President Tito. Why is the president's name foreign to the author of the note? For the same reason, it would seem, that Cosic himself, who speaks often about the revolution, mentions neither Tito nor the League of Communists. In the context of the revolution there is for him only one thing--the Serbian people.

#### Rhetoric as a Mask

Cosic is indubitably a master of language; his theses are brilliantly written. More precisely, he is in this book a master of rhetorical language, which is why some of his arguments at times skillfully conceal their essence. This is especially true of the views which he presented in his speech criticizing our nationality policy, which many people have recently embraced, among them the author of the preface and one of the book's reviewers, Dr Zoran Gavrilovic, who is "convinced that the author of this criticism is himself aggrieved that he should have been right" with respect to the danger of nationalism in Kosovo and the strengthening of bureaucratic nationalism. That is, at that time Cosic seemed to be issuing a serious warning about the dangers arising "from bureaucratic nationalism, from an ideology which equates socialist self-management with the sovereignty of the nationality and the state and with a framework that degrades worker and social self-management to regional particularism and a partialization of the economy and society," when he was actually emphasizing "the offended national and historical dignity of the Serbian people." His view will be somewhat clearer in his markedly formal (!) criticism of Serbian nationalism: "The process of nationbuilding to form unified states and social communities in the Balkans /has not yet been completed/ [in italics] (emphasis supplied by J. S.), and if certain trends in our development and in the world continue in their traditional direction, the 'nationality question' will become a pain and preoccupation of coming generations as well. In that sense our time is a time of dilemmas and changes of direction which have not been altogether completed. Should the victories of traditional--that is, nationalistic and statist--policy and the particularist orientation persist in Yugoslavia, unless the democratic forces of socialism win an ultimate victory over the bureaucratic and petit bourgeois forces and uncontrolled elements, the old historical goal and national idea--unification of the Serbian people in a unified state--could flare up even in the Serbian people." That, then, is what Cosic would like, for traditionalism to "triumph" and for the process of instituting a unified state and social community in the Balkans to be completed, but in such a way as not to anger the Serbian people. Here the master of rhetorical language is skillfully attempting to pull the fleece of democratic socialist thought over his demand to hide it.

In the book just published such views are elaborated and amplified through the specific spectacles of speaking about the "jeopardy of the Serbian people and of its unique culture" in Yugoslavia. We take this to be the book's central thesis. That slant is specific solely because the political demands have been enveloped in rhetorical turns of phrase concerning the right of art to freedom, truth and the future. This is a methodology that has long been familiar: In 1971 the Croatian nationalists also hid behind rhetoric concerning self-management, brotherhood and unity, and socialism, they pledged themselves to the basic principles of our society; and yet--we know what they wanted!

## Sinister Experiences

If Cosic spoke exclusively in the language of humanism concerning art and its freedoms, if those theses stood on their own--no progressive man would gainsay them. But no one at this moment is making an ideological assessment of his art, but rather of his political speech and his political ideas. And that speech and those ideas belong to the most sinister experiences in the history of this civilization. After all, in lamenting the unfortunate destiny of the Serbian people which "has not always been able to control the space which it covers in terms of either biology or civilization" (!), Cosic explicitly believes that "it is advisable today to consider the possibility of achieving certain social goals (he cannily avoids saying which one--J. S.) from the standpoint of the Serbian people as an entity in civilization and as a cultural, intellectual and moral entity. We have today been brought to a reflection of this kind even by political compulsion."

For Cosic, it is obvious, the goals of the further development of a democratic socialist self-managing society (which incidentally he declares himself in favor of and with which he enshrouds himself) do not converge on the entity which Marxism precisely defines in class terms. The protagonist of his conception of the revolution is the nationality (narod), his revolution is not a class liberation, but national liberation! He replaces the concept of the class in socialist revolution with the concept of the nationality; it is obviously a question of the bourgeois grounding of his conception, which is also the one that National Socialism grew out of. This kind of conclusion is especially apt because in one passage (in the speech he delivered at his installation in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts) Cosic unequivocally justified the phenomenon of Chetnikism: "Out of the national ideology which historically ended with World War I, and in the context of threatened biological survival and commencement of the revolution in 1941, political movements came into being which in recent centuries have perhaps represented the gravest spiritual and moral decline in the Serbian people." You must realize, Cosic means to say, that among others Chetnikism was also PERHAPS an exceedingly grave moral decline, but they were biologically threatened, and they also had their old ideology, which had come under threat from some revolution!? Can it be that no one in the publishing house and none of the publisher's readers overlooked or refused to see the real background of Cosic's "libertarian" appeal for a higher level of cultural democracy?

Thus Cosic uninterruptedly laments the fate of the disunited Serbian people, the threat to Serbian intellectuals, the "commitment to freedom and the kingdom of heaven as of a Lazarus" as the "ethical and value basis of Serbian national ideology." This kind of "moral foundation of the national awareness of the Serbs" has led to suffering ("since almost every generation has had some Kosovo of its own") with the "refusal of Stalin's hegemony in 1948."

So then Cosic wonders: "Only in the number of wartime sacrifices to freedom are we equal to some of the great peoples (we stand at the very top of the European ranking. That fact compels me to depression: What kind of people are we, what kind of people are we to die so much for freedom in wars but never to attain it through victories? How is it that someone among us, someone within

the house, takes away from us what on the battlefield even an enemy many times stronger could not take away?" A simple example that shows there is no nationalism without chauvinism!

#### "Assessments"

The reviewers, however, give Cosic's thesis an essentially different reading. In addition to Zoran Gavrilovic the reviewers have been Dr Predrag Vranicki, member of the academy and distinguished Marxist thinker, and the Slovenian writer Anton Pavcek.

Gavrilovic emphasizes the literary-theoretical dimension of the text: that is, the author speaks both about his own writings and about art in general. But even Gavrilovic has a reproach to make, there is something he does not agree with: "I am referring here above all to a certain occasional hastiness of expression which takes Cosic to commonplaces which ought to have been backed up with more evidence ... without broader analysis they remain at the level of commonplaces. And then Cosic is unquestionably a superb polemicist, but at times the heat of the polemics takes him to the very edge of moralizing, which also should have been backed up with more evidence." Does Gavrilovic see nationalism as only fanatic moralizing? We would not get far with that kind of understanding of pernicious political tendencies.

Anton Pavcek sees in the author's pieces a single credo: the mission of art in society and in socialism. Naively and inadequately substantiated.

Dr Predrag Vranicki's review is the most multileveled, and he appears to be the only one of the reviewers to have encompassed the evident political strata of Cosic's writings. But Vranicki, it seems to us, takes Cosic's libertarian rhetoric at face value (taken on their own they might be signed by every one of us, since in and of themselves they are handsome, attractive and romantic), and he sees him as a "writer whose social commitment is to socialism," who "has been and is fighting for the great ideals of a new humanity, but under world and national circumstances which often obstruct the view, destroy ideals, darken the consciousness and aspirations, and call into question or doubt what is being created.... Although Cosic can in some of his statements or examinations of the fate of the Serbian people exaggerate or overestimate the ethical foundations and identity of that people which, without any sort of exaggeration, has in certain periods had a destiny appropriate almost to an ancient drama, Cosic is a socialist humanist, a democrat and a freedom-loving thinker devoted to brotherhood in our historical context, to the affirmation of every nationality, to the interpenetration rather than exclusiveness of the national cultures, to the victory of the principle of self-management rather than the principles of bureaucracy and the constituent elements of the state.... Writings like these, of course, precisely because they never meant to take up the topic in its entirety, may even arouse certain justified objections; I will communicate some of them to the author personally so that unnecessary misunderstandings might possibly be avoided." It would be better if Dr Vranicki had addressed his criticism to the publisher. Incidentally, it is worth asking whether the publisher would have published the book if by some chance Cosic had actually taken up his real topic in its entirety? But who knows, perhaps even then the book would have been published?

### The Excuse

But is this book at this time, at this moment in social affairs in which the nationalistic right is raising its head more and more, actually a kind of cuckoo's egg planted on the Serbs from Croatia and Vojvodina (the publisher is from Rijeka, the printer from Novi Sad), as some people already seem to think? However, we do not desire to enter into the tendentiousness of such loaded questions, and so we put the simple question to Drago Crncevic, editor in chief of Otokar Kersovani: Why did they publish Cosic? The answer was also simple: "Kersovani is Cosic's sole publisher in Yugoslavia, it is endeavoring to complete his collected works, and it is thus rounding out his printed writings with this book. It is a coincidence that the book appeared at a time when 'Pigeon Pit' was being discussed; even before that it was in the works as a regular thing."

A naive excuse, one might say, for an antisocialist and nationalistic piece of writing that is against self-management. Especially since Cosic's views have long been very well known, since they have been condemned, since on many occasions party members have demonstrated the political tendencies of this writer, doing so indeed in connection with some of the pieces which have now been re-published in one volume. Whose interest did this serve at this point?

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

EXPLANATION OF BAN--Because of different interpretations and disinformation in connection with the last two banned issues of the Ljubljana student publication TRIBUNA, a representative of the Ljubljana public prosecutor's office said that the court banned the dissemination of the New Year's [double] issue (Nos 10 & 11) and also the subsequent double issue (Nos 12 & 13) in accord with the legally prescribed procedure in which the court made a decision vis-a-vis the demands of both sides, i.e., the representatives of TRIBUNA and the public prosecutor. The New Year's issue was banned because it published an open letter to the SFRY Presidency which was signed by the editorial board of the paper in which the course of our self-management socialist development was slandered in an offensive way and the statements of the president of the governing council of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia) crudely distorted. The second issue was banned because it published the first decision on the banning, as well as the incriminating parts of the letter. The basic public prosecutor's office believes that especially because of the delicacy of this matter and certain incorrect interpretations and the interpretation of the measures [taken] in this field both in general and in concrete example it is necessary that this problem be examined in the Socialist Alliance. To this end the basic public prosecutor's office is preparing a special report in which the situation in regard to preventing the misuse of the free press and other forms of public media will be analyzed in more detail. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 83 p 3]

DOUBT IN SELF-MANAGEMENT--At a 28 January meeting of the presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and secretaries of the presidiums of opstina LC committees, Dobroslav Culafic stressed that for quite a long time now the LC has been in the defensive on the ideological and political front, that it is acting under strong pressure of practicism, under the pressure of daily problems of the economy, that where the LC is not present, others, groups or individuals, appear who are turning away from the LC. Because the LC is not a factor in linking creative forces together, openly anti-socialist and anti-self-management theories and ideologies are taking over control of problematic subjects. It is inadmissible that the LC is neglecting and abandoning the broadest political action to other forces, because this is an integral part of the struggle for stabilization. Without decisive confrontation with all hostile ideas our struggle for economic stabilization

will not be conducted in the right way. Our major problems are of an ideological nature in the area of socio-economic development, self-management and the development of the political system. He confirmed the fact that self-management and self-management relations are experiencing considerable trials that the socioeconomic system is not functioning as it should in regard to prices, the foreign exchange system, and the integrated Yugoslav market, that there is no real association of labor and resources, that economic criteria in economic operation are reduced to a minimum, and all this gives room for other social forces to attack self-management, to compromise it, and what is worst, to build up doubt that self-management can lead society out of the present difficulties. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 83 p 3]

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